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# THE STORY OF A BOOK

## In Three Chapters

### CHAPTER I.—THE MEN WHO MADE IT

ONE HUNDRED years ago Noah Webster—journalist, scholar, patriot—was brooding a great undertaking. He had worked with Jay and Hamilton for the adoption of the Constitution and the support of Washington's administration; freedom and order were established; now for a science and literature worthy of the young republic! At the foundation of all is language. Webster had already made a Speller which speedily became and long remained a text-book for the entire people, training to uniformity of spelling and pronunciation, and yielding the author a maintenance which enabled him to carry on the vast and uncompensated work of "An American Dictionary of the English Language." In the exposition of that language no real advance had been made since Johnson's dictionary sixty years before. The new age and the new country had produced a flood of new words and usages for which there was no interpreter or arbiter. Webster essayed to cover the whole literature and the living use of the English-speaking race, with special inclusion of the new nationality. He brought to the task a natural genius for language, a special aptitude for lucid, exact, and terse definition, a ripe scholarship, and a tireless industry. With his work well begun, he stopped to broaden his knowledge, and mastered the main vocabularies of twenty languages. He studied for a year in Europe. Johnson worked intermittently for eight years on his dictionary; Webster spent twenty years on his. He gave it to the world in 1828—a splendid monument of scholarship, and in its substance fitted to every-day needs. But it was in two bulky volumes; its price was $20, it contained a few eccentricities of spelling, and the American public was not yet emancipated from deference to English authority. The first edition of 2,500 copies was enough for thirteen years. Webster stood to his guns, bated no jot of his peculiarities even where most unpopular, revised the work on its original lines, and brought out a new edition, at $15, in 1841. That, too, found little sale; and in 1843 Webster passed away, after a full and happy life, but with his *magnum opus* lying stranded like Robinson Crusoe's boat, a vessel too big for the builder to launch.

One hundred years ago, to a country printer in western Massachusetts was born his first son, George Merriam. The second son was Charles, and then came a flock of brothers and sisters. The boys were educated in the district school and the printing office; they toiled early and late; when their father died they gave their slender patrimony to their mother and sisters, and pushed their own way; and in 1831 G. & C. Merriam began business as retail booksellers in Springfield, Mass. They gave to business every hour not given to their families or their church. They began publishing in a modest way, notably an admirable series of school readers—the "Child's Guide," "Village Reader," etc.—compiled by the elder brother. When at Dr. Webster's death, his book came into the market, they discerned something of its potential value, and bought the unsold edition and the publishing right. That purchase marked an alliance of business and scholarship which has borne fruit for sixty years. The new publishers' first care was to fit the scholar's wares to the public's want. They employed Prof. Chauncey A. Goodrich, Webster's son-in-law and literary heir, to re-edit the book; the eccentric spellings were dropped and the reasonable changes retained; such scientists as Silliman and Dana were employed as contributors; and in 1847 the full work was brought out in one volume for $6. The public favor was instantly won and never was lost. Webster's executors had appraised the copyright for the unexpired ten years at $3,000, and the Merriams bought it for that. They so increased its value that when the copyright was renewed for fourteen years they made terms with the Webster family by which during that period they paid to them, for the large book with its Abridgments and the Speller, a quarter of a million dollars. The Merriams leased the Abridgments and the Speller to other houses, and concentrated their whole energy on the large book.

In 1850 it was proposed in the Massachusetts legislature, unsuggested by the publishers, that a copy of Webster's large dictionary be placed in every district school. Before the legislative committee the advocate of a rival book sneered at Webster as an ignorant pretender. Professor Noah Porter of Yale College replied with so eloquent a vindication of Webster's scholarship and services that local prejudice was conquered. The schools were offered their choice, and 3035 took Webster and 105 its competitor. Soon after, New York state placed 10,000 copies of Webster in its schools, and thus began its acceptance as a school standard which to-day extends over the entire country.

When the enlargement of Worcester to an illustrated quarto was announced in 1859, the Webster publishers made a prompt counterstroke. They put into a supplement a large number of classified illustrations—a new feature in an American dictionary—added a supplement of new words which had long been accumulating; appended a valuable table of synonyms by Prof. Goodrich; and brought out their enlarged work well in advance of the new Worcester, which never approached it in popularity.

Then they set to work on a radical and thorough revision. Under Dr. Porter's supervision, with the aid of a group of eminent scholars, the advances in linguistic science and in popular usage were inwrought with Webster's solid groundwork. The period of this revision was that of the Civil War; business fell off; the Southern market was lost; the income from the Speller was intermitted, and payments to the Webster family were by amicable arrangement postponed; war taxes were heavy; but the three brothers (Homer Merriam being now included) pushed steadily the revision, while they supported the war, and looked for the return of peace and prosperity. So came to birth the great book of 1864, known familiarly as "The Unabridged"; its predecessor being completely superseded and withdrawn from the market, until revamped and foisted upon the public under false pretenses half a century later.

A battle of pamphlets turning largely on the question of spellings; the general prevalence of the Websterian practice, and an eclipse of all rivalry in the commercial field; a fresh supplement of new words in 1879; the gradual addition of biographical and geographical tables—these were incidents preliminary to the next great revision. To this revision—a work covering ten years and costing over a third of a million dollars—were given the fuller elaboration, the larger permanent staff, the freer employment of specialists, and the exact attention to every detail, which accord with the advanced methods of modern scholarship and business. In a work carried on thus through generations, there has developed a special art of dictionary-making, with an invaluable tradition of experience, yet progressive and always expanding to meet the new conditions. The result appeared in 1890 in a work whose title marked the supremacy won throughout the English-speaking world, Webster's International Dictionary.

Its improvement has never ceased for a day. New matter has been added; tables have been scrupulously brought up to date; the accumulation and sifting of new words and meanings has gone steadily on. A Supplement of new words in 1900; tables of biography and geography substantially made over in 1902; a steady accession of improvements with no special announcement—this has been the later history of the book. To the chief editorship so long and ably filled by President Porter has succeeded Dr. W. T. Harris, United States Commissioner of Education and a scholar of world-wide repute.

It is to the alliance of scholarship and business sagacity that Webster has owed its success and growth. From that alliance has sprung a harmonious aim and a comprehensive plan of work. Before setting forth that ideal, a word more may be given to the personnel of the combination, past and present. On the publishers' side the force was strengthened in 1877 by the addition of Mr. O. M. Baker, trained as an educator and a school superintendent; an experienced and able bookseller, Mr. H. C. Rowley, came in two years later; the change by incorporation to "The G. & C. Merriam Company" in 1892 was a change of form only, the same hands still manning the ship; to the directors was added Mr. K. N. Washburn, who had been long engaged in the company's service; and while the first two Merriam brothers have passed away, the directorship includes two of the family name, and Homer Merriam still presides in a hale old age.

At the head of the editorial force have been in succession three scholars of high repute; Dr. Goodrich, the heir of Dr. Webster in mental acumen; President Porter, with a rare combination of original intellect, acquired knowledge, and practical sagacity; and Dr. Harris, officially the first man in the American educational world, and eminent in a wide variety of studies. Next to these have been a group of contributors of the highest standing in general scholarship or special branches, such as Dr. Mahn of Germany, Prof. W. D. Whitney, President D. C. Gilman, Professors Hadley, Lounsbury, Sheldon, Remsen, Verrill, Justice Brewer—the list could be indefinitely prolonged. Of highest practical service have been men perhaps less famous who have through arduous years perfected themselves in the technical art of dictionary-making; as chiefs of staff should be named, among the departed, William A. Wheeler and Loomis J. Campbell, and, among the living, F. Sturges Allen. With these have been scores of faithful and serviceable workers, whose lot has been "to widen knowledge and escape the praise."

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# The Nation.

*NEW YORK, THURSDAY, SEPTEMBER 24, 1903.*

## The Week.

The Ohio campaign has been opened in the good old-fashioned style. Voters of that State are to be asked to vote for a Republican candidate for Governor and for a Republican Legislature which will return Senator Hanna to the United States Senate, principally on the ground that by so doing they will "uphold the hands of President Roosevelt" and "sound the bugle call" for the Presidential campaign of 1904. Few persons in Ohio, so far as we are aware, will venture to reply that the Governorship has nothing to do with national affairs, and that Senator Hanna's attitude toward Mr. Roosevelt has not always been such as to render the reëlection of the former an enthusiastic endorsement of the latter. Unfortunately, the Democrats of Ohio are in poor position to take advantage of their opponents' choice of national rather than State issues in a State campaign. The Democratic convention did not consider its work complete until it adopted a resolution inviting Bryan to stump the State.

"Tom" Johnson's path to the Governorship of Ohio is not strewn with roses. His friends assure us that his convention methods were honest and aboveboard, despite the popular belief to the contrary. But Mr. John L. Zimmerman's followers do not think so. They declare that Johnson threw out Zimmerman delegations regardless of all rules and precedents, and they feel so badly that they are not willing to aid the candidate in his campaign. Conservative Gold Democrats cannot be got to support Mr. Johnson, either, and are preparing to take to the woods on election day—to their bitter regret, for they would gladly help to defeat Hanna's hopes of a return to the Senate. Despite the visit of demagogue Bryan, the Ohio free silverites are not particularly happy because of the endorsement of a Gold Democrat for Senator. If Johnson is likely to make gains in the cities, there is, on the other hand, rising opposition to him among the farmers because of his single-tax views. Still, many Democrats and Republicans long for an end of Hanna's domination.

Speculation has been toying with the names of Senator Quay and Gen. James S. Clarkson as possibilities for the Chairmanship of the Republican National Committee. This, of course, on the supposition that Senator Hanna will retire. Either Quay or Clarkson would be a worthy successor, for each is a perfect specimen of the robust spoilsman; each has that superb digestion which enables a man to stomach anything in politics; each can sleep soundly and happily with the strangest lot of bedfellows. But there is one man whose accomplishments in this line make Clarkson and even Quay seem like mere amateurs—Edward J. Addicks of Delaware. Addicks is under deep obligations to the Republican national organization, for Hanna and Quay have been his good friends; he is an energetic campaigner; he is the embodiment of those qualities that distinguish national chairmen: a heart of iron, a face of brass, and a hand full of gold. If Quay or Clarkson, why not Addicks?

President Roosevelt's admirable declaration that he will not use his position to influence in any way any municipal election will have a good effect, not only upon the coming contest in New York, but upon municipal politics throughout the country. Publicists are generally agreed that one of the most potent causes of corruption in our city governments is the maintenance of party lines in purely local elections. If thousands of well-meaning men did not vote for Tammany under the delusion that they were forwarding the Democratic principles of tariff reform and abolition of class legislation, the complete destruction of Tammany would be a comparatively simple task. But in spite of Lewis Nixon's warning that a voter may support Fusion this year and cast his ballot for a Democratic President next year, hidebound Democrats cling to the theory that Murphy, Sullivan, Grady, and Finn are the precious vessels in which the saving truths of Democracy are preserved. President Roosevelt has done all in his power to commit the Republicans to the idea of non-partisanship in city elections. We hope for an equally explicit and stimulating utterance from Gov. Odell. He can help the cause of Fusion in New York in no way so much as by making it plain that the fortunes of the State Republican machine are not bound up with Mayor Low's reelection; by avoiding not only interference, but even the appearance of meddling. President Roosevelt should in consistency take one more step—withdraw the McClelland appointment. He has unwarrantably thrust his hand into the politics of Westchester County, and strengthened the grasp of Platt there by nominating Senator McClelland for the Board of General Appraisers.

If Capt. Mahan or George Haven Putnam should be nominated for Alderman following Mr. Cutting's excellent lead, and should accept the nomination, the example would be an inspiration to good citizenship which, we believe, would extend far beyond the limits of New York. Other equally good names mentioned are those of President Butler of Columbia University and Professor Seligman of the same institution. With such men to choose from, the friends of good government cannot go wrong. This is a case where each of the gentlemen named would prefer that another than himself should be chosen for the office—a case where the office seeks the man, not the man the office. The city of Chicago has led the way to a high sense of duty in the choice of a city legislature, and she is now reaping her reward in the feeling of absolute security and trust in her Board of Aldermen. It was supposed, or rather hoped, that New York had achieved a similar blessing two years ago, but when the Pennsylvania tunnel project came before the Aldermen she found reason to doubt. That enterprise, although sanctioned by all the higher city authorities and by public opinion, was "held up" by frivolous objections purporting to come from "labor." How these objections were overcome has never been revealed, but the fact that they existed at all, and that they blocked the way of a needed public improvement, was a disagreeable surprise. Chicago has no "hold-ups" of this kind, and no "let-goes" that cannot be satisfactorily explained.

The indictment of a State Senator on the serious charge of bribery and conspiracy must bring with it a sense of humiliation and shame to every citizen of the State. Fifty men make up the higher branch of a Legislature which is law-giver to more than 7,000,000 persons. Senator Green, who was arrested on a Federal warrant on Saturday, is not only one of the fifty; he is also a member of the majority party in that body, and a person of influence, closely associated with the Chairman of the Republican State Committee, Col. Dunn. In other words, one of the leading officials and most influential Republicans of the State has been charged with bribery and conspiracy by a Federal grand jury. Senator Green was President of the International Time Recording Company. As such, he is alleged to have paid bribes to George W. Beavers, the Post-Office Department official who is under indictment. The two men are also charged with conspiracy in the sale of time recorders to Government officials. Mr. Green has given out a statement in which he denies the charges. He very properly announces his retirement from

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the chairmanship of his party organization in Broome County. We can, of course, make no comment on the probable outcome of the proceedings.

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Chicago "hustle" has already invited Mr. Chamberlain to address the Illinois manufacturers on the crippling of their trade through his retaliatory duties; and doubtless, such is the artless enthusiasm of our nation, many other organizations, from Tammany Hall to the Epworth League, will hasten not to get left by Chicago. But Mr. Chamberlain really cannot be turned over to Major Pond's successor until the secret of the fiscal scheme is out. That duty he owes to his countrymen. Revelation would not now embarrass the Ministry, and it seems proper that Mr. Chamberlain should say just what duties he desires Parliament to impose, and precisely the preferential tariffs which he means to advocate as between the mother country and the colonies. The period of inquiry is finished, and he cannot go before the country on a vague principle of Imperial solidarity. A blind taxation pool, such as Mr. Chamberlain has been promoting since last May, cannot long retain its allurements for the sturdy British voter. But, most of all, Mr. Chamberlain owes a full and complete explanation of the fiscal plan to Mr. Balfour. The author of 'Philosophic Doubt' should not be allowed to break his political shins over the Chamberlain stumbling-block without at least having the opportunity of examining the obstacle philosophically.

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The Washington Central Labor Union has requested all central unions throughout the country to petition the President for the removal of W. A. Miller, the Government Printing-Office foreman. Their solemn resolutions reveal once more the megalomania from which trades unions everywhere are suffering, for they liken themselves and their cause to the thirteen original States which founded this Government. Perhaps, however, we should be truly thankful that they do not openly insist upon that superiority to the Federal Government which the oath of the typographical union indicates. The Washington union is trying to make Mr. Roosevelt understand that he is its servant, and that he must take its view of the Miller case under threat of political punishment. His just treatment of the foreman they dub an "unfriendly act," and they call upon him to discharge Miller forthwith. The test which the President may thus have to face is a severe one, but one which your true statesman and your strong servant of the people cannot flinch from, whatever the cost. Mr. Roosevelt understands so clearly and has expounded so frequently the baneful influence of the craven and the weakling among us that he must welcome this chance to practise what he preaches. Having done what is right, we have no more fear that he will allow himself to be terrorized by the labor vote than that he will be moved to do injustice to the negro by the criticisms of the South.

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The local Housesmiths' and Bridgemen's Union has written itself down for Samuel J. Parks. The conservative members who tried to rescue it last week were soundly defeated by the followers of Parks, and have given up the fight. As a result, the local delegation has gone to the Kansas City Convention backing Parks for the international presidency. The plain meaning of the incident is that there are not enough honest men in the union to make a successful stand for decency; Parks, the blackmailer, has captured the union bag and baggage. If it were possible for the union still to have a standing among sober and responsible employers of labor after Parks's career of extortion, that possibility has been destroyed. It is difficult to conceive of any basis upon which a building contractor can now deal with this organization of the housesmiths and bridgemen; he cannot trust the word of the accredited leader, he knows that the rank and file have no honor to lose by violation of agreements. The union cannot expect public or private consideration when it has deliberately put itself very near the level of the "Monk Eastman gang" that terrorized the East Side of the city on Tuesday week.

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The relations between capital and organized labor in the hat-making industry at Danbury, Conn., which have attracted attention from all parts of the country since the strike of 1893, have lately entered a new stage. It appears that the members of the Hatters' Union, which has been persecuting the firm of D. E. Loewe & Co. with a boycott since last March, have been very much disturbed by the bringing of lawsuits against them and the levying of attachments on their property at the instance of the boycotted firm. D. E. Loewe & Co. had refused to discharge non-union men from their employ. The union had accordingly sent notices to all dealers in hats directing them not to buy those manufactured by Loewe & Co., under penalty of being themselves boycotted, and had in other ways curtailed the firm's sales and injured their trade. Many members of the union in Danbury own the houses in which they live. They are in comfortable circumstances. Some of them do not work more than two or three days in the week. They are enjoying a well-earned rest. Their condition is such as all Americans must contemplate with pride and satisfaction. Naturally, they do not bother their heads much with the doings of the union. The leaders, the business men, the walking delegates, conduct their operations mostly in secret. Their plans are not divulged even to their followers, and the latter do not desire that they should be. So long as the results are satisfactory they do not concern themselves with methods. This is human nature. The stockholders of the New York Central Railroad do the same. These men have been startled by attachments levied upon their property at the instance of Loewe & Co., who have sued them under the State law for damage to their property and business resulting from the boycott, which they affirm is an unlawful conspiracy. Action has also been brought against the same parties under the Sherman Anti-Trust act—the same under which an action was brought against the Northern Securities Company. This form of retaliation is a disagreeable surprise to the property-holding members of the Hatters' Union. It operates as a cloud upon their titles, which nobody likes to have. Even if they have considerable confidence that it will be eventually cleared off, it causes uneasiness. Nobody knows what view of the subject the court of last resort may take.

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The police courts are daily furnishing us with examples of what labor-union tyranny may mean to the worker who has not had a share of the "graft." For the second or third time within ten days there was a case on Thursday of a man being brought before a Magistrate charged with larceny committed in order to keep his wife and children from starving. Thomas Gowan was the offender—a well-recommended driver employed by a firm of coal-dealers. The union ordered him to strike on Labor Day because the firm would not give its men a holiday. Unable to obtain work, he went to his home to find his wife and children suffering for want of food. In his despair he stole a few doorknobs, only to be detected at once. When ordered to strike he had but $4.12. The heartless union forced him to spend $4 of this for a cap, a belt, and a cane, with which to parade on Labor Day. We are informed that there is a great amount of similar destitution in this city—but not among the Parkses, the walking delegates, and the leaders. Truly there is no crime which may not be committed and no suffering among innocent women and children which may not be caused in the name of Labor.

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An exhibit that attracted much attention at the National Irrigation Congress held last week at Ogden, Utah, was a model irrigated farm of twenty acres. A praiseworthy desire to illustrate practically the methods of irrigation, and to show the results of a wise use of ditches, led the State to set aside a tract of land used by one of its institutions, and on

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this model farm a complete system of canals and laterals has been contructed. All the modern machinery for measuring water and controlling it has been installed. Crops of every sort that can be raised on irrigated land are growing there, as well as most kinds of early fall fruit. Practical irrigators piloted delegates and visitors over the model farm, explaining in detail the processes of ditching and the proper application of water. This was an admirable experiment for bringing to the visitor whose knowledge of the subject was vague and theoretical a vivid illustration of what irrigation means to the arid West. Upon this point one need not fully accept Mr. Roosevelt's enthusiastic view, as expressed to the Congress last week, that the passage of the National Irrigation bill was one of the greatest steps forward in the "progress of all mankind," to realize what great possibilities the movement holds in store. The President wisely called attention to the fact that forestry and irrigation should go hand in hand. It would be well if the delegates could also have an object lesson at hand to convince them visually as to the pressing truth of this statement.

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Mr. Justice Brewer's suggestion that the right of appeal be abolished in criminal cases has aroused the protest of members of the bar throughout the country, as well as of the public in general. It has, nevertheless, performed an excellent service in sharply calling attention to the evils of undue delays in the execution of criminal judgments, caused by merely dilatory appeals. This subject is discussed in an article in a current number of the New York *Law Journal*, especially in its relation to outbreaks of mob violence. Two excellent reforms are suggested in this article: First, that by every legitimate means the possibility of delaying the execution of criminal judgments by means of frivolous appeals be curtailed; and, second, that the special favoritism toward criminal defendants, traditional in American procedure, be discontinued. The writer cites a number of cases in which the Court of Appeals of this State has exhibited an inclination to further both of these ends. Power to override mere technical exceptions, and to sustain a verdict clearly based on sufficient evidence, though legal errors of an immaterial nature occurred at the trial, is granted in the Code of Civil Procedure; and in a recent case, People vs. Conklin, the Court of Appeals, in a unanimous decision, administered the policy of that statute against the defendant.

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The decision of the Philippines Government to collect duties on military supplies sent thither by the United States Government may be correct in point of law. Almost anything may be done under the decision of the Supreme Court in the Insular Cases, which decision, Mr. Dooley said, "was rendered by Mr. Justice Brown, eight judges dissenting." It may be defensible in other aspects also, although it seems odd that Uncle Sam should incur heavy expense to maintain his army and navy in the Philippines and then pay duties on the articles he buys for their support. However that may be, we trust that the Bureau of Statistics, in its future statements of the growth of our commerce with the islands, will separate the military and naval supplies from our other exports to them. It will be easy to do so after the practice of paying duties begins, since that will be an additional expense to Uncle Sam, and ought to be noted as a separate item. The reason assigned for levying the duties is the familiar one based upon protection to home industry. The Manila merchants cannot sell their goods to our soldiers and sailors if they have to compete with free importations by the Government. That is an argument which the American Protective Tariff League will be prepared to maintain before any tribunal here or elsewhere.

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At a manufacturers' convention at Toronto on Thursday, Mr. Birge, the presiding officer, affirmed that American manufacturers not only sold their goods 10 to 40 per cent. cheaper to Canadians than to their own people, but that they shipped goods partly or wholly finished to Canada, by way of England, in order to take advantage of the preferential duties which Canada grants the mother country. As to the former charge, we presume that nobody on our side of the line would take pains to deny it. Such things are done all the time. The process is called "dumping." We fix our tariff so high that the foreigner cannot "dump" on us, and then, when we have more of any particular goods than the home market can take, we use any dumping ground that we can see. As Canada is the nearest, we use that in preference to any other. It is quite likely, too, that some American goods reach Canada by way of England in order to take advantage of the lower duties; but what reason has Mr. Birge for imputing that heinous offence exclusively to us? Does not the English merchant also perceive that source of gain? What is to prevent him from coming into our market and buying any goods that are ready for dumping, and then sending them to Canada via England? If it is worth while for the American to do this, it is worth while for the Englishman, and is equally lawful, defensible, and proper. Mr. Birge suggested a higher tariff in Canada to meet both of the evils mentioned. He had not then heard of the grand crash of Mr. Chamberlain's scheme for preferential duties in favor of the colonies. Perhaps he will now favor abolishing Canada's preferential duties altogether.

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The news that the Macedonian revolt has really spread to Melnik is of very considerable significance, since the scene of the new outbreak, which was rumored two weeks ago, is directly on the main line of communication from Sofia into Macedonia. Apparently, the Turks have dispersed the insurgent bands in the Monastir region, and the refugees have succeeded in starting a fresh revolt beyond the Struma River. Here, in the Rhodope mountains, the insurgents have the best kind of country in which to keep up their guerrilla warfare, and are near enough to Bulgaria to draw supplies and to keep in close touch with their Bulgarian sympathizers. Whether the London *Times's* estimate of 10,000 fighting men in Melnik and Demir-Hissar is correct or not, there can be no doubt of the seriousness of this new turn which the uprising has taken. With fighting going on so close at hand, it will be more difficult than ever to hold back the Bulgarians and their rulers. The transfer of base seems, indeed, to have been timed with a view to producing a sensation at the very moment when Bulgaria must come to a decision. If the plunge into war is to be taken, this is the hour.

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Herr Bebel, addressing the Social Democrats at Dresden, seemed to fear that the party was dying at the top. He warned the proletariat against learned leaders who are always the friends of compromise and at present are trying to make the Social Democrats accept a Vice-President in the Reichstag, and thus become a parliamentary party. Orthodox Socialism demands that its adherents foment the war of classes and remain in irreconcilable protest against all existing institutions. Herr Bebel's sincerity and consistency have had the effect of postponing the compromise with parliamentarism; but no one can doubt that the future of the German Social Democrats lies with the "academicians" whom Bebel so heartily scorns. A glance at Italian Socialism under the intellectual guidance of Ferri, and of French Socialism as represented by Millerand and Jaurès, shows that as soon as the collectivists come into political power and responsibility they invariably turn from their original programme and become simply Radicals. As such they work for definite social reforms, and seek rather to benefit their constituents immediately than in the future to set up the ideal Collective State. Bebel's overwhelming triumph in the Socialist Convention at Leipsic is another splendid tribute to the power of this man's personality. His unsullied character is the mighty fortress in which he is entrenched.

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*MR. BALFOUR'S MANIFESTO AND MR. CHAMBERLAIN'S EXIT.*

The British Premier has adopted the singular expedient on the eve of a great political crisis of addressing the public in a pamphlet, sold by the trade for a price, and entitled 'Insular Free Trade.' It is to be accepted as the official commentary on the bulky report presented simultaneously and containing the data upon which Mr. Chamberlain's fiscal plan is to be based. Mr. Balfour's position required that he should take the lead, or seem to take it, in announcing the Government's policy. Instead of making a speech from the platform for this purpose, according to his usual custom, he "asked leave to print." There must have been a reason for this, and it is not far to seek. He does not understand the subject under debate. He has no command of the arguments for and against free trade. He would be at the mercy of his audience in an off-hand discussion of that theme. The arguments advanced are very musty. Every one of them was refuted with inextinguishable laughter in the *Catechism of the Corn Laws* as far back as 1844. A reprint of that precious document seems to be called for at the present time.

That British trade is still increasing under free trade, Mr. Balfour is ready to admit, but its rate of increase, he says, has, on the whole, seriously declined. In some departments there has been no increase, in others there are symptoms of decay. Argal, give us a little protection. It has perhaps never occurred to Mr. Balfour to look into the causes of any particular decline—as, for instance, the exhaustion of certain natural resources, such as Bessemer ores, the increasing cost of coking coals, etc. Is a protective tariff likely to increase the supply of British ores or coke? If not, how is it going to help the British steel trade? Again, it may be that America and Germany have gained advantages over England by better technical means of handling their natural resources. We have been reading many contributions to this purport in the *Times* and other British newspapers of late. Is the technical superiority of other nations to be overcome by protective duties or preferential tariffs?

Involved in a confusing tangle of words, the idea is advanced by Mr. Balfour that since other nations have protective tariffs, England must have them also in order to have standing ground for free trade hereafter. The *Catechism of the Corn Laws* riddled this argument completely. Trade, it said, consists of exports and imports; that is, of sales and purchases. If France, by a protective tariff, puts an obstacle in the way of our sales, that is no reason why we should put a similar obstacle in the way of our purchases. Free trade means no artificial impediment on either side of the Channel. We cannot control the French side. We can control our own. France can destroy one-half of the profit of our trade with her. The other half remains. How does it help us to destroy that other half? Do you say that we shall teach France a lesson and bring her to a better understanding of the subject? What? Shall we change her ideas by following her example? On the contrary, she will say that we have now acknowledged that she was right from the beginning. That is exactly what the protectionists of the United States are saying now, in anticipation of England's change of base. So far from laying the basis of a treaty of reciprocity between England and America, the adoption of the Chamberlain policy will be hailed with joyful acclaim by the protectionist politicians and the protected trusts from one end of the country to the other. They are much in want of a new argument. Will England supply it to them after her sixty years of free trade?

The simultaneous resignation of Mr. Chamberlain and Mr. Ritchie from Mr. Balfour's Cabinet bears a very simple explanation. Mr. Balfour, in his pamphlet, has conceded too little for the protectionist, too much for the free-trader. The Prime Minister has here adopted about half of Mr. Chamberlain's programme, committing himself to a vague policy of retaliatory duties against protectionist nations, but refusing for the present to propose food taxes or to enter upon preferential negotiations with the colonies. That is a compromise which both parties have naturally rejected. To free-traders it offers the perils which they associate with the whole plan of Imperial reciprocity; to convinced advocates of the Chamberlain scheme it slurs the very principle upon which their propaganda rests. It is obviously an evasion, for Mr. Balfour, in his letter to Mr. Chamberlain, practically declares his belief in the idea of Imperial preferential trade. Plainly, then, Mr. Balfour is considering not the future of the Empire, nor the immediate well-being of England, nor, for the matter of that, any principle whatsoever, but simply how to keep himself in office.

Mr. Chamberlain advised him to accept defeat on the scheme in its integrity, believing that it could be carried after a brief Liberal interregnum. But Mr. Balfour hopes to win piecemeal. He is willing to preach the doctrine of retaliation and negotiation from the Treasury bench, while Mr. Chamberlain, outside, furnishes the pure milk of the preferential word. It is, we believe, a mistake, as well in the immediate expediency as in the ultimate political principle involved. Mr. Balfour, who should and probably will go before the country for a mandate, is quite as likely to be beaten on the half programme as on the whole. And Mr. Chamberlain, who writes of conducting his own campaign while preserving his Unionist loyalty, has no logical course except to add a new chapter to his already distinguished career as a schismatic—this time from the Unionist party. How Mr. Balfour has been led to so lame and impotent a conclusion will be apparent when the influences to which he has subjected his judgment are studied. Unfavorable bye-elections have frightened him away from food taxes, discontented and timorous elements in the City and in the manufacturing centres have insisted that something be done for their interests. They have driven him to do something now to prevent the imagined ruin of British prosperity in the remote future. Accordingly, his policy emerged unglorified by Mr. Chamberlain's large dreams of Imperial unification, and disfigured from the first by all the sorry and sordid paraphernalia of a protectionism which England long ago repudiated.

Mr. Chamberlain, on the contrary, has not been disobedient to the preferential vision, and stakes his political future upon nothing less than the whole cause. This lends a strongly personal and almost a dramatic interest to his resignation, for it may well mean the disappearance of Mr. Chamberlain from the political stage. With his support Mr. Balfour might have won on the half programme. Then, had retaliatory duties been imposed by England, the way would have been open to some very small tax on food, and that would have rendered possible, nay, made almost inevitable, preferential negotiations with the colonies. But Mr. Chamberlain has characteristically refused to take the circuitous way. Upward or downward he carries his head high. There will hardly be energy enough in his declining years, and there certainly is not truth enough in his cause, to carry the working masses of England, upon whom he now casts himself. But the endeavor, however mistaken politically and economically, has in comparison with Mr. Balfour's sop to the speculative operators something heroic about it. Its obstinacy is conspicuously in the character of Mr. Chamberlain. It would be fitting if his career should thus close upon its dominant note.

Looking backward a little, there seems a peculiar irony in the fate which has committed the hard-headed boss of Birmingham to a cause fantastically impossible of realization. In a remarkable letter of Cecil Rhodes to Sir John Macdonald—when they were Prime Ministers of the Cape and of Canada, respectively — the great empire-builder asked, "Can we invent some tie with our mother country that will prevent separation? It must be a practical one, for future generations will not be born in England." That was written in the spring of 1891, and from about that time, by a curious coincidence, Mr. Chamberlain has been at the audacious task of

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"inventing" a bond of empire. As well invent a law of gravitation or of magnetic attraction—the student of history will exclaim.

Of the immediate political prospect, one may only say that Mr. Balfour, having espoused a cause without enlisting its enthusiasms, is pretty certain to be beaten in the general election, which cannot now be long postponed.

### *PAYNE'S LATEST BLUNDER.*

The latest developments in the case of Miss Todd, who was removed from office to oblige Senator Allee of Delaware, have made the affair more than ever one of national interest. Because of her dismissal the astonishing discovery has been made that fourth-class postmasters are included in the classified service. We say astonishing, because neither the spoilsmen, nor the press, nor the public, have been aware that these officials were brought within the civil-service laws by the new rules which were signed by the President on March 20 last and went into effect on April 15 of this year. The Civil Service Commission itself has had no occasion up to this time to call public attention to the new order of affairs, notwithstanding its great importance.

Not for some years has so stalwart a blow been struck at the spoilsmen in and out of Congress. Previously fourth-class postmasters could be removed at the will of the President for any and all reasons. They were universally appointed because of their politics to oblige local bosses, Congressmen, or Senators. The custom of allowing an appointee to serve four years has had no foundation in law, so that there has never been even a fixed term for these creatures of the politicians. But when the new civil-service rules were drawn up last spring so as to cover all persons not employed as laborers or subject to confirmation by the Senate, the fourth-class postmasters were inevitably included. This does not mean that they are now within what is known as the merit service. No examinations are required before appointment. The President may still designate as fourth-class postmasters any men or women he chooses to. He can remove them at will without even filing the grounds for his action—except for two reasons: he must not discriminate against them because of their *political or religious* affiliations. This is positively forbidden by the second paragraph of the first of the civil-service rules. In removing Miss Todd to please Senator Allee, the Postmaster-General has therefore plainly violated the law, for his only reason—an evident afterthought—was the alleged pernicious activity of Miss Todd in the interest of the respectable Delaware Republicans.

Naturally Mr. Payne is indignant. Every drop of the spoilsman's blood is protesting. "Surely no sane man," he declares, "will contend that fourth-class postmasters are in the classified service." But Commissioner Greene is still perfectly sane, and so are the officers of the National Civil Service Reform Association. They have the law, in black and white, before them. They know that Commissioner Foulke and his colleagues drew the new rules with the deliberate intention of including the fourth-class postmasters. It was done entirely above board, and if the Federal heads of departments were not aware of the changes it is their own fault. The proposed rules were all sent to them long before adoption.

We take no stock whatever in the stories that the President was unaware of the far-reaching effects of the rules which he signed. He who was long the foremost champion of civil service reform in public life, and for six years a Civil Service Commissioner, cannot, it seems to us, have been blind to the purport of the new regulations. But if he has been in ignorance, he, too, has only himself to blame. If there is any such thing as consistency, he must rejoice that the fourth-class postmasters are at last within the classified service, and he should, moreover, welcome their inclusion as a step towards their being placed within the merit system. Not one of the reasons which Mr. Roosevelt so earnestly urged as Civil Service Commissioner for the putting of clerks and minor officials under the rules but holds good in the case of the village postmasters who have so long been the tools of political corruptionists. Since Mr. Roosevelt has become President, we have seen no more incredible dispatches in regard to him than those which credit him with anger at Commissioner Greene's ruling, or, as it is called, this "annoying" a Cabinet officer at so inopportune a time. Aside from the fact that every believer in good government thinks this the time to "annoy" Mr. Payne with demands for his removal, it is preposterous to assume that Mr. Roosevelt can be angry at any official who does his sworn duty. This is the sum of Commissioner Greene's offending.

For the President to take any other course than to sustain Mr. Greene would be to break with the most creditable part of his past official life. We cannot believe this any more than we can credit the story of his planning to take the fourth-class postmasters out of the classified service by a new executive order. Such a step would forever prevent his representing himself as a true friend of the civil service. On the contrary, we shall expect that the Postmaster-General's latest blunder will once more open the President's eyes to the necessity of ridding himself of Payne the spoilsman. Whether it is also to be Payne the mendacious remains to be seen, for the President cannot too speedily settle the direct question of veracity which has arisen between Miss Todd and the Postmaster-General. There are three reputable witnesses who are prepared to testify against the Cabinet officer. Every day that he remains in his Department the discredit to Mr. Roosevelt grows. Of this the denunciation of Mr. Payne in the Republican journals everywhere affords the best proof.

### *THE PUBLIC-LAND PROBLEM AND IRRIGATION.*

The National Irrigation Congress at Ogden, Utah, just ended, with its large attendance of delegates representing every Western State and Territory, and including scores from the Atlantic slope, has shown how widespread and earnest is the interest in arid-land reclamation. Through the convention's proceedings it has been made manifest that in the coming session Congress will be asked to do much more to further the work already begun for transforming the desert into fertile lands. The efforts, however, thus far made under the new irrigation law have shown that the undertaking is subject to great hindrances by reason of abuses existing in public-land distribution. The Government is constantly being defrauded by speculators who absorb, either for ranches or for purposes of speculation, lands that properly should go to actual settlers.

The rapidity with which the public land is disappearing is not generally realized. The Secretary of the Interior in a recent report stated that, "owing doubtless to the commercial depression that existed from 1893 to 1897, there was no great activity in entries under the Timber and Stone act, but that with the revival and return of prosperity in 1897 activity in such entries became so great that from 357 entries in 1897, embracing 40,609.95 acres, they increased until in 1902 the entries numbered 4,022, embracing 545,253.98 acres." He also called attention to the fact that the reports from one public-land State alone for the quarter ending June 30, 1902, show the number of timber and stone entries to have been 331, covering 48,585.50 acres. During the quarter ending September 30, 1902, the number of entries went up to 1,183, embracing 181,052.02 acres, an increase of 852 entries and 132,466.52 acres. In another State, during the same period, there was an increase of 294 entries and 45,086.28 acres. The acreage laid claim to in desert-land entries was also shown to have increased from 174,201.19 acres in 1897 to 929,230.23 acres in 1902.

The startling character of the information thus disclosed brought a favorable report on a bill for the repeal of the Timber, Stone, and Desert-Claim acts and of the commutation section of the Homestead law, but the measure failed of enactment. When it is remembered

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that a single cattle company has under fence over 1,000,000 acres; that fences run for fifty miles without a break, embracing whole townships of public land, and that "hobo" filings are so common as to outnumber the actual entries in some sections of the West, the importance of the problem is manifest.

It is expected that during the next decade the progress of irrigation under national control will add not less than 15,000,000 acres to the tillable portion of the public domain, and that eventually, through the workings of the irrigation law, 35,000,000 acres will be made fertile. These lands should be reserved for the families of our westward-moving population, to be transformed into farms. The nation has a right to ask that our legislators devote their attention to the solution of this problem, which affects the entire surplus population of the country. The demand for homes comes from the new generation, and so long as the Government retains an interest in its public domain it should so safeguard its disposition as to insure its being allotted to those whose ownership is likely to benefit the nation most. If the actual settler can be protected by the repeal of the existing homestead laws or by any portion of them, there should be no hesitancy in amending or repealing the statutes. The great West is especially interested in the outcome. It has direct and positive advantages to gain from a fair distribution of public lands. To bring to the Western States bona-fide settlers and their families means added prosperity and richer harvests; to give the public lands to speculators and cattle ranchers means squandering a portion of our national wealth, and a wasteful spending of the West's greatest resource—its farm soil.

It is estimated that the westward tide of emigration takes across the Mississippi more than 400,000 home-seekers annually. The fertile lands having already been occupied, values have reached figures that are practically prohibitive to the man in a "prairie schooner." If it be not for these that the costly irrigation enterprises upon which the Government is entering, then who is to be benefited? Those already well to do and able to finance their own ditch undertakings—the wealthy speculators and range-owners? Irrigation congresses are attended largely by men of wealth or representatives of rich enterprises, to whom Governmental assistance will be of vast value, particularly to the ditch companies with extensive interests in the arid lands, a class of property that is rapidly increasing in popularity with the investor, as the profitable use of water is better understood. It is all the more necessary, therefore, that the public should realize that the greatest good from irrigation should accrue to the modest home of the settler, and that unless there is an attendant recognition of his rights in the distribution of the public land, the carrying out of the extensive plans proposed will be both wasteful and unfair.

The present confusion of land matters, together with the varied charges that the allotment of Indian holdings is tainted with fraud, and with the assertion of irregularity in the settlement of the free range, makes this the proper time for some aggressive and positive measures in regard to the disposition of public land. This is quite as important as the suggestions of the Irrigation Congress. If, as Mr. Roosevelt says, this irrigation work is one of the greatest public undertakings ever begun in any age, not a moment should be lost in overhauling the land laws. Otherwise, the country will have to face the reproach of having spent millions upon millions in the interest of speculators and syndicates, with but slight regard for the home-builder.

## *CAN MAYOR LOW BE RE-ELECTED?*

Whatever Mr. Jerome says merits careful reading and respectful attention. This the public owes him for his great services in its behalf. He has come out with a letter saying, first, that "Mr. Low should not be renominated because of his personal unpopularity, caused not by adherence to the principles of reform, but springing from the personal character of the man." His second point is that the victory of 1901 was won by the sincerity of the campaign. "Should Mr. Low be renominated," he concludes, "we should commence the campaign patently insincerely," and he elsewhere reiterates his belief that Mr. Low cannot be reëlected. But can Mr. Jerome in reason expect a Citizens Union convention and several other bodies composed of thinking men to accept his say-so and to put aside an executive whose official acts he in no way criticises? It is idle for the District Attorney to quote the unfavorable opinions of Republican district leaders. The same sentiments were attributed to them two years ago. Yet when the time came they did their part, however grudgingly. It would, moreover, not be difficult to match Mr. Jerome's prophecy of defeat for Mr. Low with many others made two years ago. Tammany Hall, for instance, professed to rejoice over his selection and to count the victory won as soon as he was nominated.

Failing any criticism of Mr. Low's purely executive acts, Mr. Jerome lays stress upon Mr. Low's personal weaknesses. Everybody knows the Mayor's foibles, he says, and he avers that they were obvious when he was a candidate for the Presidency of Columbia University and for the Mayoralty in 1897. So doubtless they were. Mr. Low did not arouse any marked enthusiasm in his first campaign. There were plenty of workers at the Twenty-third Street headquarters who freely expressed their disappointment with him as a candidate when he went down to defeat in 1897. Then as now he lacked personal magnetism and warmth of manner. But the Seth Low of 1901 was not different from the Seth Low of 1897. Why, then, did Mr. Jerome not oppose his nomination two years ago on the ground of personal unfitness? He has not to-day a single reason to offer for his charge of insincerity against the Fusion conferees and the Citizens Union which would not have been equally valid then. Mr. Low's supporters were not then actuated by the belief that they were voting for a "jolly good fellow." Was there for that reason any insincerity in their support of him as a reform Mayor?

In short, Mr. Jerome would have us dispense with a most valuable executive because that official has not the same faculty of winning personal adherents and creating popular enthusiasm which he himself possesses. The Mayor, he substantially says, is an egotist. Therefore turn him out and nominate some one who cannot be charged with so grave a shortcoming. It is a counsel of perfection which he offers. Should the Convention accept it, they would deprive the city of the right to vote for a Mayor who has had a remarkable training for his position and has clearly shown sterling integrity, unusual executive powers, special fitness for dealing with financial problems, and unswerving devotion to the city's interests. An unblemished official record must be forgotten because of unsympathetic personal manners! And all this when Mr. Jerome himself has no candidate to suggest who would have all of Mr. Low's good qualities without his weaknesses.

In brief, Mr. Jerome's indictment of Mayor Low is an indictment of the citizens of New York. He attributes to them such narrow minds and such violent prejudices as will make them refuse to overlook the shortcomings with which all worthy candidates are more or less burdened. If, in fact, Mayor Low cannot be reëlected, something is radically wrong with the electors. They are being weighed in the balance in this canvass far more certainly than even the Mayor is. He has had his trial during the last two years. Elected or defeated, as an executive he is a fit subject for praise and emulation. He has erected a standard of civic administration. It is his standard and that of the men who rally around it. It will be the standard of a majority of the people of the city when they adopt it at the polls. In 1901 they voted in the hope that such a standard would be set up. They had only seen it from afar in Mayor Strong's time. It is possible that they did not fully understand what clean government

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involved, and that they do not like it now they have had it. If they wish to continue it, how can they fail to reëlect Mayor Low? If he is renominated, and they do not reëlect him, will it not be a fair inference that the desire for good city government is not yet really grounded in the people? That possibility must be faced and that test made. Prating about Mr. Low's personal popularity only obscures an inevitable issue.

Of course, the Fusion officials, as well as the community at large, are similarly on trial. Their devotion to principle, ability to rise above personal considerations, and perseverance in right-doing will also be under examination. That this is already well understood is evidenced by the haste of individuals to protest that, whatever they think of Mayor Low's chances, they themselves mean to vote for him if he is renominated. The discredit involved in voting against Mr. Low under such circumstances is fully recognized by those who are violently objecting to his renomination. Why, then, should they deny to the rest of Mayor Low's old supporters the ability to exercise so obvious a loyalty? We, at least, do not believe that abnormal sensitiveness and finical political casuistry prevail in the larger public, whatever may be the case within a little circle of malcontents.

Sincere and well-meaning doubters should take courage from an examination of past election figures. Instead of being a poor vote-getter, Mayor Low has always proved exactly the contrary. In 1881 he carried his until then Democratic city of Brooklyn by a plurality of nearly 5,000. After election he proved as independent as a Mayor as he was successful at the polls. When he was renominated, two years later, it was predicted, as now, only far more emphatically, that he could not be reëlected. Besides his failure to please the politicians, it was argued that Brooklyn was really Democratic; that the approach of the Presidential campaign of 1884 would cause a return to old party lines. This false prediction had greater force then than its recent echo, because the doctrine of non-partisanship in municipal affairs was then in its infancy, if indeed it had yet been born.

In 1897, when Mayor Low first came before the electors of Manhattan, his vote of more than 150,000 was phenomenal, in view of the fact that the national parties each had a candidate in the field, as had the followers of Henry George. In that year there was every indication of marked public confidence in him as a successful municipal administrator. The Committee of One Hundred early selected him as the man to lead the fight, and were willing to carry his campaign on even after it became impossible (thanks to Messrs. Platt and Quigg) to unite all the anti-Tammany forces. It was recognized by all that Mr. Low's election would insure far better government than that secured to the city by Mayor Strong. Between 1894 and 1897 the better element had learned to recognize that the kind of administration which suited them in 1894 would not do at all in 1897. The President of Columbia represented to them the higher needs of the hour. They counted upon him because he was familiar with the science of good government when they had welcomed Mayor Strong three years before merely because he was a representative of a kind of heavy business respectability. Again, in 1901, when he polled nearly 300,000 votes, Mr. Low was well at the front of his fellow-candidates, Comptroller Grout alone securing a slightly larger total. Mayor Low has in the past proved fully as strong as the cause which he represented. There is no good reason to suppose that it will be otherwise this year.

## *THE OPEN MIND.*

When Mr. Balfour said he viewed Mr. Chamberlain's proposals for preferential tariffs with "an open mind," he struck a sympathetic chord; for if there is one thing on which the modern advanced thinker prides himself, it is his open mind. He looks with such horror on the bigotry of his ancestors, their perseverance in error, that he is hospitable to every opinion. The Bible is probably inspired, but probably also it is not; free trade is unquestionably sound in theory, but so is protection; lynching is a horrid crime, but nothing else is possible under the circumstances; the moral law should always be supreme, but we need not apply it strictly in practice. In short, our minds are not only open, but open at both ends. Easy-going tolerance, the ability to believe contradictories, to regard the utterances of a fool as seriously as those of a wise man, have been the mark of certain temperaments in all ages. Balaam was ready to curse either the children of Israel or the Moabites, and naturally he was guided in his decision by the words of an ass. He stands as one type of the person with broad views; another appears in Voltaire's 'Zadig.' In that witty tale there is a memorable supper at which men of different races begin to display their prejudices. The discussion is growing warm when the highly superior Man from Cambalu chimes in: "I have a profound respect for the Egyptians, the Chaldeans, the Celts, for Brahma, for the bull Apis, and the beautiful fish Oannes." This dictum of the Man from Cambalu is the note of latter-day emancipated souls, who believe one thing is quite as true as another, if not truer.

In the church a lack of conviction is, religious leaders agree, the root of evil. We no longer hold to any tenet fiercely enough to burn the infidels; but, what is more, we are so doubtful about our creed that we will not even back it with our money, let alone going to the stake for it. When a person allows that millions of heathen are doomed to perdition for ignorance of the Christian gospel, common humanity will prompt him to subscribe to missions; but when he has discovered that Confucius and Christ are both right, that Pagans and Christians can look forward alike to a happy hereafter, he will not sacrifice his automobile for an equivocal benefit to distant and disagreeable Chinamen. The devotee to whose imagination the pains of hell are as real as his own existence cannot but prefer a half hour of boiling oil to eternity in the brimstone lake; but no one will choose the oil vat in order to escape "the symbol of an outraged conscience" or "a forcible metaphor."

In the world of finance we are equally ready to grasp new and comfortable doctrines, to display a wide-open mind—especially when we may thereby gain a dollar. Not long ago some of our shrewdest financiers began urging, "Why do you cling to the antiquated prejudice that two and two make four? Consider this subject in a more enlightened way. Admit that two and two may often make ten, and sometimes one hundred." The appeal was irresistible; our fathers might have been mistaken, for they usually were; and, then, if two and two made ten, we were more than twice as rich as we had supposed. Accordingly, there was general assent to the proposition, except among a half-dozen fogies. They were quickly seen to have petty conceptions of finance, worthy of a pack-peddler, to be stupid and malicious enemies of progress. Oddly enough, however, the discarded dogma is again finding many adherents, while the men with a wide outlook and liberality toward fresh ideas are nervously figuring on the stock-table and unable to apply the recent rules in arithmetic; for whatever two and two might have made last year, the sum total is four to-day.

In politics, too, we refuse to be zealots. Time was when Americans rose in white fury to defend the thesis that governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed. But our brightest wits have long since outsoared such provincialism; they admit that consent may be desirable, but insist that as much may be said in behalf of dissent. They call the Declaration of Independence a glittering generality. Learning it by heart is a good memory drill for children, like learning the alphabet, the multiplication table, the Ten Commandments, or any other empty formula. Our protest in 1776 against the monarchical theory was well meant, but quixotic. The maxims of imperialism are as sound as any others; and the sooner we lift our hand against our weaker brother and the more ruthless our blow, the larger our share of his property. The meek shall

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inherit the earth only so long as the aggressive do not want it.

A few of us are growing skeptical about the Fifteenth Amendment. Millions of people once swore by high heaven that the right of citizens to vote should not be abridged on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude; and for that ideal poured out their best blood. But in the year of our Lord 1903, fashionable statesmen are filled with philosophic doubt. In the same breath they assert that the ideal is a worthy one, but that in the rough field of practice the white man must strangle the black, regardless of the latter's intelligence and character. Ideals, after all, are only so much paper to burn. Under the new dispensation nothing is simpler than to eat your cake and have it, too. The soil of slavery nourishes the fairest fruits of liberty, and we can lay the foundations of freedom upon the solid bedrock of injustice. These are the precepts of statecraft which our subtle leaders ask us to follow.

But though the world is moving swiftly, not all the wisdom of the ancients has even yet become folly. In the long run the multiplication table and a few other shreds of principle may survive our progressive iconoclasts. Those inborn traits which make men prefer honor to life itself will not be blotted out by an intellectual ambition to reconcile opposites. Uttering paradoxes can never be an amusement for the masses of the American people, whose home-bred sense we may trust to keep them steady in the old political faiths.

## *THE AMERICAN COLLEGE PRESIDENT.*

Columbia University reports a probable deficit for the coming year of more than $100,000, most of which must be begged by President Butler from wealthy friends of the university. Not long ago an Eastern scholar was called, at a generous salary, to the presidency of a Western university, and, on his arrival, bidden to go out and collect his salary. Another university president, a noted metaphysician, has recently resigned his position because he found the periodic canvassing for funds too difficult and distasteful. Upon this superior form of beggary Mr. Booker T. Washington, in his remarkable autobiography, casts a very pleasant light, but he was sustained by an uncommon enthusiasm and by the inspiration of a new cause. Even so, the duty of collecting funds was largely incompatible with his function as chief of the Tuskegee School, and when Mr. Carnegie endowed that institution liberally, the gift was applauded largely on the ground that it enabled Mr. Washington more fully to exercise personal leadership and to give up the distracting occupation of an itinerant collector.

Plainly, the business management of a modern college is in many respects incompatible with academic leadership. As an executive officer, a college president needs to be on terms of easy intercourse with his faculty and graduates, and on terms of respect with his students. This means that he should possess certain qualities of a man of the world. But he should be also the most philosophical mind of his faculty, capable of understanding the educational significance and wider bearings of the studies towards which his professors have necessarily a myopic view. He should be capable of representing his college on public occasions with intellectual distinction. He should be in all senses the finished and well-rounded product of the academic life. Something of aloofness necessarily goes with such an ideal. Our intellectual aristocrat should grace any table at which he may sit, but it must be humiliating to him deliberately to haunt the tables of the rich and systematically to cultivate the acquaintance of those who neither value academic culture nor possess it. A few college presidents are broad enough, or sturdy enough, to come to terms with commercialism while retaining their academic ideals intact. An Eliot and a Gilman, in a sense, have conquered the general public without flattering it; but it is doubtful if these two great university presidents representing more emphatically the more disinterested studies—for example, the humane arts—would have had an equal success, while it is certain that in many cases college presidents have undergone a subtle moral deterioration in the pursuit of riches. Worse yet, the undue emphasis placed on money-getting has resulted in the formation of a small but somewhat influential class of university "bagmen" who adopt the vocabulary of culture without grasping any of its informing ideas.

What results when a president of this type shapes his university after his own mind is shown by a correspondent of the Springfield *Republican*, who, though he writes with some rancor, is evidently a professor in such a college and painfully sure of his facts. He describes an institution in which the President's ideal is money-getting through advertising. By the familiar methods of the syndicate promoter X University is ever kept before the greater public. This notoriety the president offers to his millionaire patrons in lieu of dividends. Professors are expected, nay, exhorted, to do "popular" things. A succession of press interviews becomes a more valuable asset than a *magnum opus;* a flash-in-the-pan reputation as a *littérateur* is more highly appreciated than years of faithful service as a teacher or international reputation as a scholar. In this gloomy picture there is doubtless some exaggeration, but it undoubtedly indicates at least a trend towards the commercializing of our larger institutions of learning. One cannot forget that the sage Tolstoy, recalling a meeting with one of our most talked-of college presidents, declared that he was a "barbarian" and utterly incapable of understanding the things of the mind.

If this destructive tendency exists in academic life, we must seek a remedy either in finding presidents who can combine the commercial and academic disposition, or else we must cut presidential duties to suit the men we can get, and delegate the surplus duties to others. The latter is the more hopeful course. Indeed, it has been suggested that the college presidency in America should be made largely honorary, like the chancellorship of a British or German university; that the term should be limited, and the executive functions divided between a treasurer and—for purely academic matters—committees of the faculty. This would undoubtedly "decommercialize" the college presidency, but it would constitute a disastrous break with all American traditions. We believe that the president should be something of an autocrat in his proper domain, and that faculty government would be bad government. But we are convinced also that every board of trustees should appoint a kind of chancellor of the exchequer, who should have general oversight of the university budget. The office has long existed in the older institutions; it is as much needed in the smaller. This policy would allow the President greater leisure in which to exercise the more personal duties of his office and to revive the traditions of the great presidents of simpler times.

Naturally, no college president of today can live in a supermundane contempt of the main chance. His influence will be potent in inspiring donors, who will naturally value his advice and wish to deal with him personally. All one can ask is that, in the matter of making academic ends meet, there should be all feasible division of labor, and that no college president should be expected to reinforce the qualities of the promoter with the practices of the sycophant.

## GASTON PARIS'S COLLECTED ESSAYS.

PARIS, September 9, 1903.

The friends of M. Gaston Paris have just republished in a volume, under the general title of 'Legends of the Middle Ages,' several articles which he had inserted in various reviews. The three first articles, "Roncevaux," "Le Paradis de la Reine Sibylle," "La Légende du Tannhäuser," were composed between 1897 and 1901, and appeared not long before the death of Gaston Paris in the *Revue de Paris*, and he may have meditated giving other articles on similar subjects to this review and to form a volume out of the whole. His friends have added to the three articles above named two more, "Le Juif Errant," which

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appeared in 1880 in the 'Encyclopædia of Religious Sciences,' edited at the time by M. Lichtenberger, and "Le Lai de l'Oiselet," which was contributed in 1891 to the *Journal des Savants*. This last study had served as an introduction to a limited edition of the little poem in question, which was not shared with the general public.

A worldwide reputation has been given by the genius of Wagner to the legend of Tannhäuser:

"When," says Gaston Paris, "Richard Wagner composed, in 1842, his musical drama, he was not yet fully in possession of all the ideas which he afterwards seized and realized with so much strength; but they were already floating in his mind, and he had at least indicated in the 'Flying Dutchman' the idea which dominates and resumes them all, and which he incarnated so powerfully in 'Tannhäuser.' I mean that grandiose conception according to which music, closely allied to poetry and emanating from the same soul, ought to be the deepest and most pathetic interpretation of the mystery of human existence, suspended between love and death, between egoism and sacrifice, between ideal aspiration and the fascination of the senses."

This complete union of poetry and music was more easily derived from popular legends than from history. History is too precise, and does not give scope enough to the imagination of the poet. Wagner sought his legends in the German poems of the Middle Ages, knowing little of their origin in antiquity, unconscious that they were not purely Germanic, but Celtic, that they expressed the feelings of the race to which belonged the Gauls, the Irish, the Gaels of Scotland, the inhabitants of Wales and of Brittany. Wagner did not take the legend of Tannhäuser directly from a German poem of the thirteenth century, but simply from a much more recent popular song, which he found in Heinrich Heine. "What an admirable poem!" said Heine in speaking of an old *Volkslied* which he reproduced. "Except the Song of Solomon, I don't know a song more burning with love than the dialogue between Dame Venus and Tannhäuser. This song is like a love-battle: you see flowing in it the reddest blood of the heart." Wagner became enamored of this legend, and saw in it an expression of the struggle between carnal love and pure and ideal love. In reality, it is something different: it is the adventure of a man who, thanks to the love of a goddess, penetrates the supernatural regions where reigns perpetual spring. Wagner added to the legend of Tannhäuser the episode of the poetical war of the Wartburg, which has nothing to do with it. He added also the element drawn from the personage of Elizabeth, whom he created wholly, and who plays such an important part in his musical drama.

The story of the knight Tannhäuser, of his entering the Venusberg and coming out of it, does not appear in Germany before the middle of the fifteenth century. Hermann von Sachsenheim wrote in 1453 a long poem on the enchanted mountain where Venus kept her court with her husband, Tannhäuser. About the same time there appeared a small poem in which Tannhäuser expresses his regret for having entered the Venusberg, and tells how the Pope Urban IV. refused to pardon him. Another little poem, of the middle of the fifteenth century, in the form of a dialogue, represents Tannhäuser declaring to Venus that, notwithstanding her reproaches, he counts on obtaining pardon of Jesus and his mother. But it was only in the sixteenth century that appeared the song which gave to the legend its present form, and which was so much admired by Heine. It ends with censure of the Pope for his refusal to pardon Tannhäuser. "No Pope, no Cardinal, ought to condemn a sinner, be the sin never so great. God can always forgive."

The curious emblem of the dry stick which becomes green and bears flowers again is a mere spontaneous invention of the popular imagination. In the legend, as it was transformed, we see the unforgiving Pope telling Tannhäuser that he would be pardoned only when his stick became green. Already, in Homer, we see Achilles swearing by the wand which he carries in his hand, and "which will bear no more leaves or branches, since the sword has taken from it its foliage and its bark." M. Gaston Paris will have it that in the legend the name of Venus was substituted for that of the Sibyl, and that the Venusberg was originally a mountain not of the Thüringer Wald, but of the Apennines in Italy.

"The Italian legend travelled to Germany, probably through Switzerland. The name of the Sibyl was replaced by the name of Venus, and the Venusberg long became for the Germans an object of terror and of desire; only they did not know where to place it. . . . It was in Italy that the legend must have taken its religious form, localizing itself in the mount of the Sibyl. . . . The journey to Rome seems to indicate this. It is not far from the Sibylline hills to Rome, and it is said that in fine weather the dome of St. Peter's is visible from their summit. . . . The legend of Tannhäuser as it appears in Germany in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries is not of Germanic origin; it goes back to the legend of the 'Monte della Sibilla.'"

It must be added that this religious form of the Tannhäuser is only an adaptation to Christian ideas of a legend anterior to Christianity and probably of Celtic origin, brought to Italy from the distant shores of the Britannic sea.

A great part of the interesting volume of M. Gaston Paris consists of an elaborate study of the Legend of the Wandering Jew:

"It is generally thought," he says, "that the legend of the Wandering Jew spread over Europe during the Middle Ages; and because of the antiquity attributed to it there has been a tendency to see in it a deep and mystical sense. But there is nothing of the kind: no trace is found of the Everlasting Jew in the vast collection of the Greek or Slav apocrypha, nor in the traditions of Oriental Christianity, nor in the abundant legends of the Latin Middle Ages. The popularity of the Wandering Jew is restricted to certain countries in the northwest of Europe—to Germany, Scandinavia, the Low Countries, and France. It is of recent date, and has been propagated, not orally, but purely in a literary way."

Some old legends have a certain relation to the Wandering Jew. As has been remarked, Cain may be called the first Wandering Jew. The Jews of Arabia have their Samiri, who fabricated the Golden Calf and was sent away by Moses from the seats of Israel. A *chanson de geste* speaks of the leper cured by Jesus Christ, who strikes him and becomes the object of a peculiar damnation. (This was made the explanation of the incurability of leprosy.)

The curious legend of Marcus or Malc is still popular in Venice, Naples, and Sicily. The celebrated monk of St. Albans relates that in 1278 an Armenian archbishop came to England and, among other marvellous stories, spoke with much particularity of one of the witnesses of the Passion who was still alive. This archbishop repeated the same story at Cologne and Tournai, and it found its way into the Chronicle of Philippe Mousket, who wrote at Tournai about 1243:

"When the Jews were taking Jesus to the cross, this man bade them 'Wait for me; I am going too to see the false prophet on the cross.' Jesus turned round, and, looking at him, said: 'They will not wait for me, but you shall.' And he still waits, not having died since. Every hundred years he becomes young again. They say that he was baptized by Ananias; he will die only on the Day of Judgment."

We must pass to the beginning of the seventeenth century to find a reappearance of the legend of the Wandering Jew; but the art of printing gave it at once an immense popularity. The oldest edition of the 'Marvellous Relation of a Jew Called Ahasuerus' appeared at Leipzig in 1602. Paul von Eitzen, Bishop of Schleswig, is said to have told several persons that he saw Ahasuerus at church—"a tall man, with bare feet, standing near the pulpit during the sermon, and bowing every time the name of Jesus was pronounced." After the sermon, Eitzen asked him who he was. Ahasuerus was his name; he had been a witness of the Crucifixion, and gave many details of the Passion. "When Pilate had pronounced sentence, knowing that Jesus was to pass before his house, Ahasuerus ran to his home, told his people to come and see, and, taking his little child in his arms, stood before his door." He was a cobbler. Christ stopped a moment before his door; and he, believing him to have been justly condemned, told him to hurry along and go where he was ordered to go; upon which Jesus looked at him intently and said: "I will stop and rest, but you shall march till the last Judgment." These items were given in a letter by Eitzen, who acquired some celebrity from the part he took in the struggle of the Reformation. The legend was popularized by images, by pamphlets, by songs, and was transformed in its details in every country. Without speaking of all these transformations, we will say only that Goethe had contemplated writing an Ahasuerus. He conceived the subject with originality; he thought of giving the cobbler of Jerusalem a character combined of good common sense, of narrowness of mind, and of irony, which would have allowed him to take a personal attitude contrary to the movements of humanity. He wrote a sketch of his poem and then renounced the composition of it, and devoted himself, fortunately for us, to the legend of Faust.

# Correspondence.

## THE WASHINGTON ARTILLERY.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: In a recent issue you comment editorially upon the Dick law, commencing your editorial by saying that the famous Washington Artillery of New Orleans has disbanded. That is a mistake. The Washington Artillery has not disbanded, and, furthermore, does not intend to disband. It

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is as active as it ever was, and as it ever will be.—Sincerely,

WM. KERNAN DART.

BAY ST. LOUIS, MISS., September 19, 1903.

[The source of our information was a New Orleans paper.—ED. NATION.]

## ARNOLD'S MARCH TO QUEBEC.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: The reviewer of 'Arnold's March from Cambridge to Quebec,' in speaking of the "exact references" in my notes as "comparatively few," chanced to overlook one point. The book is based mainly on journals, which consist of dated paragraphs, and therefore the citation of a journalist in connection with a dated event constitutes an exact reference. Such citations are certainly not few. For example, in the case of Chapter V., I think that the figures should be 74 instead of the reviewer's 14. A page reference would be less precise; and, if made to the MSS., might be worse than useless. JUSTIN H. SMITH.

September 11, 1903.

## TITIAN'S "SACRED AND PROFANE LOVE."

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: Signor Umberto Gnoli's suggestion, contained in the *Nation* for July 2, that the great Borghese Titian, popularly known as "Sacred and Profane Love," should be called "Venus and Medea," is interesting; but does this new title, to use his own words, "quite succeed in fully explaining the composition of that masterpiece"? It is, by the way, worth remembering that Morelli, in his learned critique, suggests that the picture is distinctly Giorgionesque; and Mr. Eugene Benson, the American artist, long resident in Venice, informs me that he is confident that this picture is one of the unfinished canvases left by Giorgione at his death, and afterwards completed by Titian, who bought the contents of the younger artist's studio. Mr. Benson's profound practical studies of the methods of the Venetian masters peculiarly fit him to speak with authority on the subject. He points out that, while the brushwork is undoubtedly Titian's, the subtly suggested thought of the picture is much more typical of Giorgione.

What is this thought? Signor Gnoli is evidently somewhat astray when he asserts that *all* the critics have considered the nude figure a Venus; for the suggestion of Messrs. Crowe and Cavalcaselle that the picture should be called "Artless and Sated Love" is based on the fact that the nude figure is, from its evidently virginal quality, *not* a Venus, but an innocent maiden, unlearned in the mysteries of life and love. Notice how intensely earnest she is; how nervously perched on the edge of the water-filled sarcophagus, twisting her legs together like a schoolgirl, and searching, with deeply stirred, inquiring gaze, the face of the completely clothed, quiet woman who sits at ease in an attitude and with a countenance betokening an entire absence of passionate desire. This woman's expression seems to be that of one contented, who remembers and gazes off as if questioning the future.

Back of this sarcophagus, at either end of which these female figures are seated, stands Love (Cupid), who turns away from the contented woman, while he stirs the water; and it is to be noted that the woman also turns away from him. In the background behind her, a pair of rabbits (symbol of fecundity) quietly graze, side by side, and a cavalier gallops off to the battlemented town in the distance. Evidently, like the hero of Browning's "Night and Morning," this gay rider feels

—"the need of a world of men."

It is noteworthy that this theme is repeated in the carved design on that portion of the sarcophagus on which this woman sits. The carving there represents Cupid as helping the lover to mount and ride away. But beneath the nude maiden figure, Love is represented in the carving there as waking the sleeper with lashings, and a lover seeks a maid, both of whom have an arm round the trunk of a tree.

Noticeable, too, is the fact that the roses are all gathered on that side of the rose bush nearest to the woman, who holds one in her lap beneath her hand, while another fades on the marble beside her. Had Signor Gnoli more attentively studied the picture, he would have noticed that the object guarded by this woman's encircling arm is neither "a box, basket, nor jewel casket," but a dark covered bowl of semi-transparent glass, through which we observe that it is already partly filled with that water of life which Cupid is busily pressing toward the shoal crystalline dish which the maiden has placed beside her on the fountain's rim. On the side of the maiden, too, the flowers still bloom ungathered. The stream issuing from the front of the sarcophagus, that shrine whence Death has departed, floods and freshens these unculled roses, which the innocent maiden, as yet, leaves unheeded on the stem. Behind her the rustic lovers embrace, and the white lambs of innocence feed, the frightened hare flees from her pursuer, and the two cavaliers come racing hitherward. Signor Gnoli remarks that she holds a lighted lamp aloft with the arm over which floats off her crimson robe; but is this lamp, as he says, the Cytherean censer and placed there as an attribute of Venus, or only a symbol of love, or is it the lighted lamp of a virgin who awaits the bridegroom's coming?

It *is* quite true that the whole picture breathes of love. But, if we cannot agree that we are to see in this virginal figure a representation of Venus, shall we not find it yet more difficult to discover therein an idea which has been expressed by the long misused phrase "Profane Love"? Can we even imagine a humanist of the sixteenth century, who professed to adore with antique fervor all the phases of passion as a manifestation of the divine recreative power, so characterizing the innocent longing of an evidently inexperienced maid? Does not the misapplied title of "Sacred and Profane Love" in itself imply an ascetic view of the subject quite foreign to the whole tenor of the age which saw the production of the picture? And where shall we find therein an incident that justifies its application? Is it not rather a glorified vision of a scene common enough in Italian roadsides, where an antique sarcophagus has been utilized to form a fountain-basin for a bubbling spring, whither matron and maid may come and tarry and chat of their experiences while they fill those household vessels they chance to have brought with them to carry home the water they seek?

We recall that Titian, writing to one of his correspondents, says he sends him another "poesia" (*i. e.* a poetical, pictured allegory), in which he "will find many interesting things about life." Are not these "many interesting things," the every-day incidents of this picture, glorified by the poetical thought of the whole? He says we shall find here a poem. Let us then give a metrical form to our recollection of these incidents, and thus attempt to see how far they lend themselves to that intention. So recalling them all, must we not conclude that, as they all illustrate this theme and cannot all be included in another theory, the theme of this picture is therefore necessarily

LOVE—INNOCENT AND SATISFIED.

Who linger seated by this fountain side?
What wave refills death's long deserted shrine
Where Love is stirring? Ah! whose limbs entwine
Restlessly? Who, more calm, would beauty hide?

Why then turns Love from her, and that full tide
Of living water toward yon crystalline
Shoal glass still presses? What would she divine
With that fixed gaze on one so satisfied?

The woman heeds not that her lord to-day
Would seek man's world; that gathered rose of hers,
And that filled bowl, she guards, content to stay.

The restless maiden leans toward Him from whence
Those stirred waves come; and fruitful Love prefers
To fill with life that crystal innocence.

WILLIAM P. ANDREWS.

ROME, July 20, 1903.

# Notes.

John Lane's fall list embraces 'New Letters of Thomas Carlyle,' edited by Alexander Carlyle, who also makes rejoinder in 'The Nemesis of Froude'; 'Émile Zola, Novelist and Reformer,' by Ernest A. Vizetelly; 'After Worcester Fight,' contemporary accounts of Charles II.'s escape, edited by Allen Fea; the fourth volume of Helps's 'Spanish Conquest in America'; 'Africa from South to North through Marotseland,' by Major A. St. H. Gibbons; 'Juniper Hall,' by Constance Hill; 'The Life of St. Mary Magdalen,' from the Italian by Valentine Hawtrey; a new illustrated edition of William Morris's 'Defence of Guenevere'; a new volume of Essays by Gilbert K. Chesterton; 'Hortus Vitæ,' moralizing essays by Vernon Lee; 'The Poet's Charter, or the Book of Job,' by F. B. Money-Coutts; 'The Ethics of Garden Design,' by Thomas H. Mawson; two illustrated volumes, 'A Hundred Fables'—of Æsop, of Lafontaine, and a third, 'A Hundred Anecdotes of Animals'; 'Cornish Ballads and Other Poems,' by Robert Stephen Hawker, and his 'Footprints of Former Men in Far Cornwall'; 'The Ancient Halls of the City Guilds,' drawn in lithography by Thomas R. Way; and 'A Book of Country Houses,' nineteen examples by Ernest Newton.

From D. Appleton & Co. we are to have 'Admiral Porter,' by J. Russell Soley; 'The Life of Lord Beaconsfield,' by Wilfred Meynall, in two volumes; 'My Literary Life,' by Madame Adam (Juliette Lamber); 'Chronologies of the Life and Writings of William Cullen Bryant,' with a bibliography of his prose and verse, by Henry C. Sturges, and a memoir by R. H. Stoddard;

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Bryant's Poetical Writings in a Roslyn edition; 'Stately Homes in America,' by Harry W. Desmond and Herbert D. Croly, illustrated; 'The Story of Rapid Transit,' by Beckles Willson; 'Steps in the Expansion of Our Territory,' by Oscar P. Austin; 'Rocky Mountain Exploration,' by Reuben G. Thwaites; 'Paris before the War,' letters by Madame Northpeat; 'The Book of the Short Story,' by Alexander Jessup; 'The Psychology of Adolescence,' by President G. Stanley Hall, in two volumes; 'Garden Mosaics,' by Alfred Simson; and 'The Modern Bank,' by Amos K. Fiske.

Little, Brown & Co. have nearly ready 'The Indians of the Painted Desert Region,' by George Wharton James; 'Pioneer Spaniards in North America,' by William Henry Johnson; 'The Adventures of an Army Nurse in Two Wars,' from the diary of Mary Phinney, Baroness von Olnhausen; 'Famous Actors and Actresses and their Homes,' by Gustav Kobbé; 'Ballads of New England,' by Dr. E. E. Hale, his family and others; and a popular edition of Renan's Writings, translated and edited by Joseph Henry Allen.

Fleming H. Revell Co. will publish 'The New Era in the Philippines,' by Arthur J. Brown, D.D.

'The Encyclopædia of Household Economy,' by Emily Holt, and 'The Way of the Sea,' stories of Newfoundland fisher folk, by Norman Duncan, are in the press of McClure, Phillips & Co.

'The Poems of John Cleveland,' the seventeenth-century poet, edited by John M. Berdan; 'Months and Moods: A Fifteen-Year Calendar,' by Edward Curtis; 'The Twentieth-Century Chronology of the World,' by C. N. Horwitz; 'History of Ancient Wethersfield, Conn.,' by Henry R. Stiles, M.D.; 'The Handbook of Columbia University,' by George H. Butler, jr.; 'Starting a Printing-Office,' by R. G. Mallette and W. H. Jackson; and 'Republics versus Women,' by Mrs. Kate Trimble Woolsey, are among the fall issues of the Grafton Press of this city.

The Baker & Taylor Company will bring out an enlarged edition of the 'New Library of Poetry and Song,' originally selected by William Cullen Bryant; and 'How to Judge Architecture,' by Russell Sturgis.

Several sonnets have been added to the collection of his own verse, 'Sonnets and a Dream,' by Dr. William R. Huntington of Grace Church, and the volume will bear the imprint of Thomas Whittaker.

A new volume in the choice historical reprints of Burrows Bros. Co., Cleveland, is to be Gabriel Thomas's 'Historical and Geographical Account of the Province and Country of Pensilvania; and of West-New-Jersey in America' (1698), edited by Cyrus Townsend Brady.

The Arthur H. Clark Company, Cleveland, announce an extension of the scope of their documentary collection, "The Philippine Islands," without increasing the number of volumes (55). Instead of stopping short with the nineteenth century, they will continue on to 1898.

The California Promotion Committee, whose headquarters are in San Francisco, have deemed it pertinent to their objects to print in a neat volume the crumbs of eloquence and patriotism let fall by the President during his tour of the coast in May last ('California Addresses by President Roosevelt'). As the cover design imports and one of the many photographic illustrations demonstrates, the speechmaking was often from the train's end; but there are addresses as well as passing remarks. The President's doctrine of expansion is developed along the usual lines, with equal praise of Wood and of Taft "simply as examples." He has also a timely word for "brotherhood in its broadest sense; brotherhood that does not recognize the difference of sections, and that recognizes just as little the difference of class; that treats a man on his worth as a man, and, if he is square, stands by him."

The list of small handbooks on Greek sculpture is enlarged, but not made greater, by Miss H. Edith Legge's 'A Short History of the Ancient Greek Sculptors' (London: T. Fisher Unwin; New York: James Pott & Co.). Written in an hysterical style, in English not always undefiled, and with occasionally an unpardonable blunder—as when she tells us (p. 78) that Mt. Pentelicus "lay on the *west* but a few miles from the city [Athens]," there is nothing new or suggestive in the book, unless it be the author's individual impressions of the works she describes. These are at all events original. Speaking of the room in the Acropolis Museum which contains the archaic female statues, she says that "sometimes it is almost eerie to go into that room and see these figures ranged round one"; though why it should be at certain times rather than others, or indeed at all, her readers may never know, unless the "veritable effort to be alive" is held to account for it. The statue of the Doryphoros makes an impression of "self-contained exactitude," whatever that may be; but here again the impression does not seem to be constant, as we are told that it is gained when we "look again at the statue." That the distinguished authority who provides the introduction to the book could have encouraged its publication, passes one's comprehension, having in mind the excellent manuals of Ernest Gardner, Tarbell, Paris, and Collignon, with no one of which is Miss Legge's worthy to compete.

The seventeenth volume of the 'Account of the Operations of the Great Trigonometrical Survey of India' is devoted to a description of the electro-telegraphic longitude operations for determining the difference of longitude between Karachi and Greenwich. Before 1900 two values of longitude had been employed in mapping the survey of India. The Atlas sheets were based on Lambton's value of 1805, and the standard sheets on Warren's value of 1815. In 1878 these values were found to be too large, and it was necessary to add to all maps a footnote stating that all longitudes required a correction of 2′ 30″. In 1893 Capt. Burrard and Lieut. Conyngham were ordered to undertake new measurements, and the total distance from Karachi to Greenwich, 5,163 miles, was divided into four sections. The first part of the present volumes contains a description of the instrumental equipment and of the operations generally; the second, an abstract of the operations and the reduction of the results. A map and several illustrations accompany the volume.

"Bulletins of the Geological Survey of Victoria" is the title of a new serial published by the Department of Mines of that Australian State. The first number contains an account of the "Geology of the Berry Lead at Spring Hill and Central Leads," by J. W. Gregory, Director of the Survey.

For a frank looking of a gift horse in the mouth, commend us to the "Report of the Committee on the Authenticity of the First Meeting-house in Salem," which fills the greater part of the July number of the Historical Collections of the Essex Institute. Nearly forty years ago the frame of a dilapidated little outbuilding was presented to the Institute by those who credulously saw in it the meeting-house. It was furnished with new roof and walls, a door and windows, and became a very proper worshipful relic. The doubters from the start gained little attention, but in 1900 the issue was sharply raised and the above-named committee was appointed, with the result of discrediting the legend altogether. The documentary research is given in full, with views, diagrams, and plans of Salem sites and properties; and this work of the well-known Essex antiquary, Mr. Sidney Perley, was well worth doing.

As usual, echoes of the Commencement oratory sound in the September issue of the *Harvard Graduates' Magazine*. William James's spiritual picture of "The True Harvard" fits in well with Professor Shaler's indictment of athletics as the cause of the "serious degradation of the capacity for attention in the less studious half of the men"—as the "disease which is ravaging the educational system of our English people." The more thorough, one might infer, the organization and official establishment of athletics, the profounder the attack on the precious gift so admirable in infancy when all impressions are fresh, and that wanes so steadily with the increase of adventitious aids to knowledge. Yet praise seems to be due to Professor Hollis, whose notable six years' incumbency of the Athletic Committee's chairmanship is here commemorated with a portrait, as are the careers, so honorable to Harvard and so divorced from athletics, of the late George Shattuck Morison and Henry Barker Hill—engineer and chemist among the foremost.

Professor Hirth, the new professor of Chinese in Columbia University, was recently the guest of honor at the regular meeting of the Munich Orientalische Gesellschaft, delivering on that occasion a noteworthy address on "Bilder aus der Chinesischen Kulturgeschichte." The full report is published in the *Beilage* of the Munich *Allgemeine Zeitung*, No. 160. Prominent among the points emphasized is the evidence furnished that all efforts to connect the oldest Chinese civilization with that of any Western people have failed. As far as can be determined now, Chinese civilization is an absolutely native and independent product. A considerable part of the address was devoted to a presentation and discussion of the new hieroglyphics that go back to the second millennium before Christ, and out of which the modern Chinese characters have been developed. Hirth reports that some years ago he and the deceased Professor Ebers had carefully compared the Chinese with the Egyptian hieroglyphic system, and had reached the conclusion that they were independent products of the two peoples employing them, the similarities between them being accidental and in the nature of things. It is only natural that in each system the sun

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should be represented by a circle and the moon by a crescent. The first evidence of the influence of the Western culture in China appears in the second century B. C., as a consequence of the expedition of the Emperor Wu-ti in a western direction, resulting from a previous visit of the Chinese General Shang-Kian to the court of the Indo-Scythians in the regions of the modern Bokhara. The speaker found traces of Hellenistic and Western Asiatic influences in the architectural ornamentation of that period. A brief reply, casting doubt on these conclusions, appeared in the following issue of the *Beilage*.

Some most instructive information on the inner workings of the German book trade and its relations to learned research is furnished by a small volume of 244 pages, recently published by Dr. Karl Bücher, lately elected Rector of the University of Leipzig, and bearing the somewhat enigmatical title, 'Der Deutsche Buchhandel und die Wissenschaft.' The declaration of the sub-title, according to which it is a "Denkschrift im Auftrage des Akademischen Schutzvereins," shows that it is a quasi-official work. The whole is a protest, in the name of the learning of Germany, against a ring which has been formed by the "Sortimenter," *i. e.*, the retail book dealers of the whole country, and directed against the author, the publisher, and the public for the benefit of the middle-man. The Akademischer Schutzverein, in whose name this booklet is sent out, has its headquarters in Leipzig, but has branch societies all over Germany, Austria, and Switzerland, chiefly in the university towns, and authors from all over the country are invited to join it, the fee being but three marks. Bücher is not the first to raise his voice in protest. Some months ago the noted Professor Paulsen of Berlin, in the *National-Zeitung*, scathingly denounced the sins of the German book traders, in an article entitled "Vom Bücherkaufen und von Bücherpreisen in Deutschland," which produced considerable newspaper polemics, and called forth a formal reply from the Göttingen publisher, Ruprecht, in which the attempt was made to defend the exorbitant prices charged by the German dealers. Bücher's book is published by Teubner in Leipzig, at 1.60 marks, the profit all going to the Verein.

The last number of the *Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins* (*Band* XXVI., *Heft* 4) contains a map of Palestine according to the Onomasticon of Eusebius, laid down on the excellent hand-map of Dr. H. Guthe and Dr. Hans Fischer, and this entire number of the *Zeitschrift* is taken up with a discussion of the Onomasticon, its text, its sources, and the meaning and value of its contents. In conjunction with the Orient-Gesellschaft, the Palästina-Verein is at the present time conducting excavations at Mutesselim-Lejjun, supposed to be the site of Megiddo-Legio, on the southern edge of the plain of Esdraelon, under the immediate direction of Dr. Schumacher, the American Vice-Consul at Haifa. The Emperor of Germany, who, since his visit to Palestine a few years since, has shown a keen interest in Oriental research, is said to be one of the largest contributors to the fund to defray the expenses of these excavations. He is also concerned in the excavations at the extraordinary ruins of Mesheytta, on the east side of the Jordan, presented to him by the Sultan. It is further reported from Palestine that Dr. Sellin, the Austrian explorer, intends to resume work this autumn at Ta'anach. Among the results of his last excavations at this site were some clay tablets with cuneiform inscriptions, throwing light on the worship there of Hadad Rimmon. Outside of Tel Hesy (Lachish) this is the only place in Palestine where inscribed clay tablets have yet been found.

—Professor Lounsbury's discussion of the "Standard of Pronunciation" in English, in the current *Harper's*, demonstrates the absurdity of taking any English dictionary as an infallible guide. "The truth is, that the pronunciation of every dictionary expresses the preferences and prejudices of the particular person or persons who have been concerned in its compilation." The dictionary is of value as a practical assistant, but there is no obligation of unquestioning obedience to the decisions of any one of them when they conflict, or even of all when they agree. They can record no final standard of correctness, simply because the language is in such a constant state of change that none exists. The Director of the Jenner Institute of Preventive Medicine, London, gives the results of recent experiments on the effects of low temperatures upon organic life. Series of bacteria were subjected to the extremely low temperature of liquid air, and even of liquid hydrogen, for long periods of time without loss of vitality. This use of liquid air is manifestly of great practical value. Natalie Curtis writes of her attempts to learn something at first hand of the native music of the Hopi Indians, "an art that is now fast passing away beneath the influence of the Moody and Sankey hymn-tunes and patriotic songs taught the Indians in the Government schools." In rhythm she regards the Hopi songs as surpassing our own. Their melodies are rich and beautiful, though harmony is almost completely lacking, as would be expected in so primitive a race. She had the good fortune to secure a phonographic record of a newly composed "Katcina dance" song, sung into the instrument with great zest by the composer himself, and received with enthusiasm when reproduced before a Hopi audience. Both the music and the words of this song are given, together with a translation.

—P. S. King & Son, London, have brought out the second edition of Edwin Cannan's 'History of the Theories of Production and Distribution.' During the ten years which have elapsed since the appearance of the first edition, this work has won wide recognition, and it remains to-day the most important contribution ever made to our knowledge of the field which it covers. Mr. Cannan is able, indeed, in the new preface, to say that the researches of the last ten years have not affected the substantive conclusions of the earlier edition. In fact, such work as has been done upon the genesis of the 'Wealth of Nations' confirms his original conjecture of the manner in which Smith's scheme of distribution was evolved. Mr. Cannan considers it needless, also, to alter any of those sharp, and sometimes flippant, references to the work and opinions of contemporary economists which have made the book seem breezy or undignified, according to one's point of view. With sublime confidence he calmly remarks that "what appeared to be ill-tempered blasphemy in 1893, will now be seen to be the calm statement of undoubted fact." The new edition contains few changes of greater importance than "the conversion of 'Mr. Giffen' into 'Sir Robert Giffen,'" and the correction of a few misprints and grammatical blunders. Mr. Cannan has, however, added about a dozen pages which treat of more recent changes in economic theory and the usefulness of modern contributions to the subject. Here he presents some of his own theories with a confidence that is surprising in one who has devoted so much study to the rise and fall of past systems of thought; yet his work in his special field has been so useful that no one will feel like begrudging him this one little fling. Then, too, it will make capital material for some future historian of economic theories in England.

—Filial biographies might sometimes best be left in manuscript for domestic benefit; apart from natural affection, it is a fine thing to have had an eminent man in the family, even at long range. But it is often Hobson's choice between this sort and none; and perhaps 'The Life of Philander Chase, First Bishop of Ohio and [of] Illinois, Founder of Kenyon and Jubilee Colleges,' by his granddaughter, Laura Chase Smith (E. P. Dutton & Co.), is as well done as could be expected at this distance from the facts. It tells a good deal about its subject's ancestry and youth, and not as much as might be of his later life in Illinois, 1835-52; but of this latter there may be not much to tell. The Ohio episcopate, 1818-31, was the most memorable part of his career, and certainly Jubilee College counts for less than Kenyon. In more than one instance Chase was badly used; but to call the objection to his consecration "one of the most inexplicable and malicious, almost diabolical events, which cannot even now be accounted for except by the agency of some evil spirit from the nether world," is to use large language. Fortunately, the attack upon his administration in 1831 and his consequent resignation are here narrated by "one perfectly unbiassed." It appears to be true that "he had nourished and brought up children, and they rebelled against him." Whether genius or no, a bishop who, in hope to save some part of his work, could throw up his office and take his family into a remote wilderness, there to create a farm and mill and to labor as an independent missionary, was at least a character. A hardy and indefatigable pioneer, forceful and fearless, he more than once attempted great things under huge difficulties. What he accomplished was at his own expense; indifference, opposition, slander, physical hardships, perils, and broken bones, affected him only as they hurt his work. The results are appreciated now as they were not at the time. Neglected in the East, he made warm friends in England; but, masterful as he was, he failed to attach and control his subordinates. To his sincerity and devotion was joined "a human pride of opinion and an unmistakably bellicose spirit." "The saint's is not the hero's part"; but hero and saint were queerly mixed in him. There should be more anecdotes, such as his answer to a query, "How does spiritual religion prosper at your college?" (pp. 327-8), and his forcing the passengers on an Ohio

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steamboat to kneel for prayers. But he had no Boswell, and the romantic phases of his career found no adequate narrator.

—The fourteenth volume of the Harvard Studies in Classical Philology (Cambridge, published by the University) is appropriately dedicated to the memory of the late Professor Greenough, through whose efforts the original endowment of this annual publication was secured. It contains four articles. The first is a sympathetic memoir of Greenough by Prof. G. L. Kittredge, the greater part of which is devoted to an account of that remarkable pamphlet entitled 'Analysis of the Latin Subjunctive,' and to Greenough's review of Delbrück's 'Conjunctiv und Optativ.' The former little monograph, being privately printed, never in itself won much attention. The latter drew forth from Delbrück a most appreciative letter, which is here first printed. As Professor Kittredge points out, there can be no doubt that the indirect influence exerted upon syntactical study by these two productions has been very great, because their methods and results were applied in that Latin Grammar which made Greenough's name familiar all over this country. What happened in this case was no single phenomenon in the life of this generous-minded scholar. Into his many text-books "he put, in the form of notes, comments, and *obiter dicta*, the ripest fruits of his scholarship and the most brilliant of his discoveries, seldom taking the trouble to designate them as anything new." Thus they became common property, and there can be no doubt that many scholars are quite unaware of the actual source of some of their most familiar doctrines. In the second article in the volume, Mr. Warde Fowler of Lincoln College, Oxford, makes some observations on the Fourth Eclogue of Virgil, dealing chiefly with the last four verses. These, he thinks, may be applied as a touchstone to the interpretation of the poem as a whole, and certainly his treatment of them is both sane and sound.

—The rest, being more than five-sixths, of the volume consists of two articles on the illustrated manuscripts of Terence, and must in future form an indispensable part of the critical apparatus of that author. The author of one of them, Mr. K. E. Weston, while a member of the American School in Rome, became interested in these MSS., and copied the miniatures of the "Phormio" in the four of most importance. His sketches are here reproduced in ninety-six plates, so that for the first time these works can be seen and studied side by side. It becomes obvious at once that the pictures in all these MSS. are "derived from a common original, so completely do the positions of the figures, the gestures, and the general action of each scene or group coincide." With this first conclusion by Mr. Weston we think that all will agree, and almost as many with his second, that the gestures show that the common original was earlier than the time of Quintilian. Perhaps these two contributions were enough to expect from one young scholar, yet those who are familiar with the questions which have been raised about these miniatures will recall at once several to which the information in his possession might have enabled him to give answers. And all readers will recognize a certain feebleness and vagueness of statement in the written part of his production—faults which the editors of the volume might readily have removed. The final and longest article is a much more scholarly performance by Mr. J. C. Watson, who speaks of himself as a student of classical philology in Harvard, but who writes apparently at Cornell. Its title is "Relation of the Scene-Headings to the Miniatures in MSS. of Terence." Our space does not admit even of a résumé of this important treatise; suffice it to say, that the histories of the scene-headings and of the miniatures are found to hang closely together, and that the author is able to prove that the widely accepted views of Leo and Schlee about the relationship existing between the several classes of Terentian MSS. are not sound. In parting for the moment from this interesting volume we must not omit to mention the opening elegiacs, signed "C. L. S.," and evidently written by one of Greenough's colleagues. They are a sign that the gentle art of Latin versification is still lovingly and successfully practised at our oldest university, and they form a prelude of a kind which was dear to the heart of the genial and brilliant scholar to whose memory they are addressed.

## THE LAW OF COPYRIGHT.

*A Treatise upon the Law of Copyright in the United Kingdom* and the Dominions of the Crown, and in the United States of America. By E. J. MacGillivray. London: John Murray; New York: E. P. Dutton & Co. 1902. Pp. xxxvii., 403.

*The Law of Copyright.* By Thomas Edward Scrutton. Fourth edition. London: William Clowes & Sons. 1903. Pp. xxv., 331.

With two such satisfactory books on the subject as Mr. Copinger's extensive compilation and Mr. Scrutton's admirable compend, there would seem to be little room for another volume in English on copyright. But Mr. MacGillivray explains in his preface that he had found in his own law practice great need of a textbook on this subject which should be exhaustive of the case law, and at the same time contain a concise and clearly arranged epitome of the statutory provisions. He has been successful in meeting this need in a useful and convenient work which, while displacing neither Copinger nor Scrutton, will admirably supplement them.

Dismissing the history of copyright in a few pages of introduction, with the explanation that the subject has already been fully dealt with by Copinger, Scrutton, and Drone, and by Professor Birrell in his Lectures on Copyright, he devotes separate chapters to the subject-matter of copyright —books, engravings, sculpture, paintings, drawings, and photographs; the ownership of copyright; infringement; right of representation; colonial and international copyright; common law in relation to copyright, and the agreements between authors and publishers in relation to printing and publishing. Very wisely he has departed from the usual method, and has printed as a separate division of his book the five short chapters (67 pages) devoted to the law of copyright in the United States. An appendix contains the statutes in force (the repealed sections being distinguished by italic type), and the texts of the Berne convention. The book is well printed in a large, readable type, and there are very few typographical or other errors. Some misprints occur in the titles of American cases, the most noticeable being Nifflin for Mifflin (page 256), while on page 258 the term of United States copyright protection is inadvertently given as thirty-two instead of forty-two years, and two copies of the title-page are said to be required instead of one. The act of June 18, 1874, seems to be not fully understood, the statement being erroneously made regarding labels and prints for articles of manufacture that "as trade-marks they will be protected if registered in the Patent Office"; whereas, the registration required by the act cited is for copyright, and is not under the trademark law.

All the important copyright cases have been cited, but the Supreme Court decision in the case of Bleistein vs. Donaldson doubtless failed to reach the author before his book was printed. This reverses the decision of the court below, and his statement (p. 246) that "a poster with colored drawings of a circus performance had been refused protection" should therefore be changed to read "was granted protection." The contradictoriness of the decisions in copyright cases is very manifest, and comments expressing doubt or dissent from the judicial interpretations—such as "It is almost certain that this is bad law," "I doubt if this is sound," "It is almost certain, however, that this decision would not now be accepted as sound," "This, however, is not law"—are frequent; while in the cases of directly contrary opinions the remark not unfrequently occurs, "Which is the correct view it is difficult to say." The author is doubtless wise in warning his English professional brethren that, while the decisions of the American courts may afford valuable precedents, they should not be cited at random, and before quoting them it is essential to compare the statutory provisions of the two legislations to ascertain whether the decisions are really applicable. Of the copyright legislation of Great Britain, Mr. MacGillivray asserts that it is "perhaps the most complicated and obscure series of statutes in the statute-book"; that the present law is "bad both in substance and form," and that "there are probably more pitfalls for the unwary in dealing with copyright than with any other branch of the law." The long delay in securing the hoped-for reform of this legislation—it is now a full quarter of a century since the Royal Copyright Commission made an elaborate report—is due, he thinks, to dissensions among those who are interested in copyright, failure to come to a satisfactory arrangement with the colonies, and want of time at the disposal of the Legislature.

The author confines himself wholly to an interpretation of the law as it stands, and it is only indirectly that there is any expression of his opinion as to the legislative policy that should be followed in copyright legislation. Incidentally, however, glimpses are obtained showing his attitude towards mooted points. In speaking of the English act of 1842, he says: "Perhaps the other most important change (it cannot decently be called a reform) is the reduction of registration at Stationers' Hall to a mere use-

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less and troublesome technicality. Instead of being, as formerly, a condition precedent to protection, and therefore a useful index from which one could ascertain whether a book was copyright or not, it is now made merely a condition precedent to action." In discussing the situation of copyright in Canada, the author, while expressing a doubt whether the act of July 18, 1900, is not *ultra vires* of the Canadian Legislature, nevertheless considers that it would be satisfactory to see this act obtain the hitherto withheld imperial confirmation. This act embodies an interesting variant of the typesetting and prohibition-of-importation provisions of our act of March 3, 1891. A possible unsuspected effect of the typesetting clause in the act of March 3, 1891, is pointed out when discussing the perpetual copyright enjoyed by the universities of Oxford and Cambridge in the case of books bequeathed to them. It seems that this perpetual privilege subsists so long as the book is printed only within the respective universities or colleges, and for their sole benefit and advantage. "*Quaere*, if some of Jowett's works, for instance, were printed in the United States in order to acquire American copyright, whether that would destroy the perpetual copyright by reason of copies being printed outside the University."

Mr. Scrutton's work occupies a unique position in English literature relating to copyright. It was originally published in 1883 as a revised edition of the successful Yorke prize essay of the University of Cambridge for 1882 on the subject, "The Law of Property in Literary Compositions: The Principles that ought to regulate it, and How far such Principles have been acted upon in Different Countries." The first edition of the book was therefore largely historical and theoretical, and was published under the title, 'The Laws of Copyright: An Examination of the Principles which should regulate Literary and Artistic Property in England and Other Countries.' The work attracted favorable notice because of its admirable conciseness and clearness of statement; and a second edition, entirely rewritten, omitting the theoretical portions, revising the parts dealing with the law then existing, and adding the texts of the statutes in force, was published in 1890, and a third edition in 1896. The present, fourth edition, with very little increase in bulk, shows careful revision, and leaves the work a most useful, up-to-date handbook of the English law on this subject. Colonial copyright, however, receives but half a dozen pages, with a mere mention of Canada, while international copyright is granted but a single brief chapter, of which only a few pages deal with the United States law. The author is outspoken as to the need of revision of the present British statutes, which he refers to as the "existing chaos of legislation." The inadequate act which went into effect October 1, 1902, to give additional protection to musical copyright, he calls "a striking object-lesson of the difficulty of getting Parliament to extend to literary and artistic property the protection they would hasten to afford to pheasants, were they threatened." Mr. Scrutton does not so frequently as Mr. MacGillivray express his own opinions as to the value of the decisions rendered, but of the much-discussed decision of the House of Lords in the case of Walter *vs.* Lane, protecting the copyright claimed in a reporter's edition of unwritten speeches, he speaks very frankly:

"But for its decision, it would seem startling that a person should be the author of a work to which he has contributed neither the words, nor their arrangement, nor the ideas contained in them, when his only relation to that work is that he has correctly copied from dictation the language of the speaker who composed the thoughts in words. The so-called author shares his authorship with the mechanical phonograph, but, under the protection of the House of Lords, acquires a property in his copy from dictation. . . . It is idle to discuss whether decisions of the House of Lords are right; otherwise there is much to be said for the view of the Court of Appeal and Lord Robertson that a mere copyist does not produce a 'book' within the Copyright Act, and that the phonograph is not an 'author.'"

Mr. MacGillivray, who discusses this decision at length, insists that the essence of the case is that the reporter was entitled to copyright because it was he who first reduced to "book" form the literary composition contained in Lord Rosebery's speeches. It seems desirable, however, not to strain the application of Walter *vs.* Lane, and to seek an explanation of that decision in the facts of the case. Lord Rosebery delivered his speeches without manuscript. The *Times* went to the expense of taking them down in shorthand and printing them. The defendant reprinted them from the columns of that paper, without authority of the proprietors. The Lord Chancellor in his judgment said:

"I should very much regret it if I were compelled to come to the conclusion that the state of law permitted one man to make profit and to appropriate to himself the labor, skill, and capital of another. And it is not denied that in this case the defendant seeks to appropriate to himself what has been produced by the skill, labor, and capital of others. In the view I take of this case, I think the law is strong enough to restrain what to my mind would be a grievous injustice."

It is probable that very similar reasoning led to the recent decision which so aroused the ire of Mr. Furnivall in the case of Parry *vs.* Messrs. Moring and Gollancz, granting an injunction against a new edition of the 'Letters of Dorothy Osborne to Sir William Temple.'

## THE POPISH PLOT.

*The Popish Plot:* A Study in the History of the Reign of Charles II. By John Pollock, Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge. London: Duckworth & Co. 1903.

The attempts of the English Catholics to secure toleration and to gain power have already furnished a fruitful theme to the historians of the seventeenth century. Gunpowder Plot, the most dramatic of all political conspiracies with the exception of St. Bartholomew, has recently been recalled to memory by Gardiner's debate with Father Gerard. In this case the learned chronicler of the Stuarts made himself a detective, and sought, by the most careful scrutiny of all available records, to show that Gunpowder Plot was something more than the successful angling of an *agent provocateur*. Guy Fawkes and his confederates were bent on doing serious mischief. The evidence against the alleged promoters of the Popish Plot is by no means so clear. Many writers, indeed, who cannot be suspected of fidelity to the Roman cause, look upon the plot merely as the invention of perjurers like Oates and Bedloe—the ghastly fiction of human vampires. Mr. Pollock's attitude towards it may be gathered from a line out of "Absalom and Achitophel" that stands upon his title-page:

"Some truth there was, but dashed and brewed with lies."

There is detective work in the present volume, and historical disquisition as well. Mr. Pollock divides his subject into four parts: "The Designs of the Roman Catholics," "Sir Edmund Berry Godfrey," "Politics of the Plot," and "Trials for Treason." This arrangement has the merit of great clearness, and it also permits us to touch upon each of the author's main topics.

Titus Oates came forward with his story of a popish plot against the life of Charles II. in September, 1678. A hundred years later, when rationalism and toleration had taken the place of religious bigotry, Hume declared that none but a confirmed Whig could believe in the existence of such a conspiracy, while Charles James Fox, the bulwark of contemporary Whiggism, declared the whole tale to be spurious. Mr. Pollock is not quite at one with these historians of the eighteenth century. He makes no attempt to rehabilitate Oates, for it would be past the ingenuity of the most accomplished whitewasher to defend such an utter rascal; but he does say that "unless he made a prodigious guess, the most fortunate in history, Oates must have acquired [at St. Omer] hints dropped on the subject of the movement in England." Plotting is one thing and a mature plot is another. Mr. Pollock adduces evidence which proves that the Jesuits were plotting for the restoration of Catholicism in England long before James II. came to the throne. That a conspiracy against the life of Charles II. was a part of their programme, cannot be established by evidence of the same validity, but it can hardly be doubted that such a subject was discussed.

Those who are familiar with the career of Robert Parsons and with the nature of the tradition he founded, can readily understand how the hope of the Jesuits went out toward the sons of Henrietta Maria. In the days when Milton was exclaiming, "Avenge, O Lord, thy slaughtered saints," the prospects of the English Catholics could not have been bright, but the Restoration permitted hope to revive, and the Treaty of Dover might well seem a long step towards the redemption of the realm from heresy. Unfortunately for the Jesuits, Catholicism with Charles II. was a means and not an end. For the sake of escaping from a niggardly Parliament and of making himself absolute, he was willing to accept a French pension and the religion of the King of France. But the Treaty of Dover was in reality, as Lord Acton has said, "a plot under cover of Catholicism to introduce absolute monarchy, and to make England a dependency of France, not only by the acceptance of French money, but by submission to a French army." However, this shameful compact led to nothing save the abortive Declaration of Indulgence in 1672. A year of war with Holland, along with the domestic complications it involved, convinced Charles that he would not gain absolutism through the Catholic interest. Accordingly, in 1763, he repudiated the Declaration of Indulgence by accepting the Test Act; and at the same moment, the hope of

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the Romanists, deserting him, went out to the Duke of York, whose adherence to the ancient faith was less contingent upon politics.

The King's change of front at once led to fresh projects, and Mr. Pollock looks upon the summer of 1673 as a time when intrigues began which five years later suggested the embellishments of Oates. Until the close of 1675, the course of the plotting can be traced with considerable clearness in the correspondence of Edward Coleman, a Jesuit and the Duchess of York's secretary. Throughout his letters there is much treason, construing treason according to its legal sense, for Coleman aimed at nothing short of turning England to Catholicism by French gold or Austrian gold or papal gold—it matters little where the money comes from. With Coleman, who was an enthusiast, the propaganda is religious and not ecclesiastical. After 1675, the nature of Jesuit designs is more difficult to trace. During Danby's ministry the Catholics had little to hope from the court, and after 1676, when the Duke of York avowed his conversion to Rome, the relations of the King and his brother became difficult. So much depended upon the length of the King's life! With what we know about Edward Petre in England and Père La Chaise in France, how can the fact of Jesuit activity be doubted? What the details were, the world may never know. Mr. Pollock is cautious, and confines himself to the following general statement: "This much only can be said with safety, that the brothers hated each other, that the death of the King was talked of in Jesuit seminaries on the Continent, and that James was not above tolerating, if he did not direct, an attempt to murder the husband of his daughter."

We have already said that Gardiner played the detective in his little book on the Gunpowder Plot. The atmosphere of Scotland Yard also pervades the present volume, for, besides the political plotting of the Jesuits, there lies embedded in the midst of the Oates conspiracy the mysterious death of Sir Edmund Godfrey. Was he murdered, or did he take his own life, as L'Estrange would have us believe? If he was murdered, who were his murderers, and what was their motive? To these dark and tragic questions Mr. Pollock applies his ingenuity. He will not accept the judgment of Hume that the problem is insoluble, nor is he content to follow Macaulay and Ranke in calling it unsolved. Rejecting the opinion of Sir James Stephen and Mr. Sidney Lee that Oates himself was the murderer, he evolves a very interesting theory which is largely founded on the testimony and career of Miles Prance. His conclusion is that Godfrey had accidentally come into possession of a secret the revelation of which would have prevented the Duke of York from succeeding to the throne. Godfrey was on good terms with the Catholics, but he was also a magistrate, and might impart this fatal piece of intelligence to the Government. He was therefore murdered by the Jesuits in Somerset House, the Queen's residence, and his body was kept there for several days before being taken to Primrose Hill, where it was discovered.

Mr. Pollock finds the cornerstone of his theory in a statement which Oates was constantly reiterating, namely, that a Jesuit congregation had been held "on April 24, 1678, at the White Horse Tavern, in the Strand, where means were concerted for the King's assassination." The particular allegation is untrue, though a congregation of Jesuits was held in London on the date in question. This meeting, however, took place not at the White Horse Tavern, but at St. James's Palace, the residence of the Duke of York, as may be seen from Sir John Reresby's 'Memoirs,' and Father John Warner's 'Persecutionis Anglicanæ et Conjurationis Presbiterianiæ Historia.' Warner was a provincial of the Jesuits in England, and a confessor to James II. The constancy of the Jesuits is proved by the fact that nine of them suffered death during the course of the Popish Plot rather than reveal the secret which would have destroyed the future of Catholicism in England. Had this secret been divulged, the Opposition would have been masters of the situation. Mr. Pollock is perfectly moderate when he says:

"The discredit into which Oates would have fallen would have been of little moment compared to the extent of the gain to the Whig and Protestant party. To Shaftesbury the knowledge would have meant everything. Witnesses of the fact would certainly have been forthcoming, and James's reception of the Jesuits in his home was a formal act of high treason. The Exclusion Bill would have been unnecessary. James would have been successfully impeached, and would have been lucky to escape with his head upon his shoulders."

To return to Sir Edmund Godfrey. On September 6, 1678, Oates had come to him as a magistrate and sworn to the existence of a Catholic plot against the King's life. Oates's story was carried by Godfrey to Edward Coleman, who, if we accept Mr. Pollock's theory, disproved it—at least to Godfrey's satisfaction. In the course of a conversation held between the magistrate and the Jesuit at the house of a common friend, Mr. George Welden, on September 28, Coleman disclosed by word or hint Oates's perjury regarding the meeting of the Jesuits at the White Horse Tavern. In order to establish his hypothesis, Mr. Pollock must persuade us that Godfrey knew when the congregation was actually held, and that the Jesuit body knew him to be possessed of their secret. Three days after his meeting with Godfrey, Coleman was committed to Newgate. What was the nature of his part in the plot against his friend, the magistrate? Having given Godfrey the information, did he become a party to his death? This is a point of some consequence, and one upon which Mr. Pollock does not throw much light. As Godfrey disappeared upon October 12, the design against his life hurried rapidly forward, and Coleman in durance could have afforded little direct aid. It is clear that Godfrey believed Oates to be a perjurer, and also considered his own life to be imperilled by the chain of events which began with Oates's deposition in his presence.

For the rest, Mr. Pollock opens up a new vista by his scrutiny of Prance's evidence and conduct. This man was a Roman Catholic silversmith, and an important witness at the trial that followed Godfrey's death. While his evidence seemed to be directed against certain Catholics, it diverted suspicion from Le Fevre, the Queen's Jesuit confessor, and several other Jesuits. In December, 1688, when Father John Warner, late provincial of the Jesuits in England, was attempting to escape from Gravesend, his boat was stopped in the harbor, and it was found to contain one other passenger, Miles Prance. A good understanding had apparently existed between him and the Jesuits during the ten years that followed Godfrey's murder, and his testimony must be construed with this fact in mind. Mr. Pollock's treatment of circumstantial evidence is highly plausible, and his theory of Godfrey's death deserves careful consideration.

On the political side, the chief motive of this book is furnished by Charles II.'s contest with the Whigs, ending in their severe discomfiture at the Oxford Parliament of 1681. To those who derive their knowledge of Charles's reign from Gramont and historical novels, the statement that the Merry Monarch was a determined politician may come as a surprise. Mr. Pollock finds him both determined and capable, a worthy foe of Shaftesbury, and the ablest member of his line. Not that he strove for the highest national aims. His purpose was simply to enhance the power of the crown, whether by the Treaty of Dover or by the tactics of Danby. The Popish Plot served to place him at a great disadvantage, for he desired the succession of James rather than that of Monmouth, and the Whigs had ground to hope that through the Plot they might force his hand. In the end the King prevailed over his foes by patience, and gained a personal triumph which Mr. Pollock calls unique. The decisive moment was reached in March, 1681, when Charles dared to dissolve Parliament after the first reading of the Exclusion Bill. No revolution followed, and the Whigs were driven into the Rye House Plot. We quote the passage in which Mr. Pollock indicates most clearly his conception of Charles as a politician:

"While to the world he seemed a genial debauchee, whose varied talents would have fitted him equally to be a chemist, shipwright, jockey, or dancing master, this horseman, angler, walker, musician, whose energy tired while his company delighted the most brilliant of English courts, more admirable than Crichton had he not been more indolent, he labored in an inner life at a great endeavor, and, chiefly by letting himself be misunderstood, achieved it. He restored the crown to its ancient place in the State whence his father and his grandfather had let it fall. He gave Parliament just enough rope to hang itself."

The volume closes with a study of the trials for treason which sprang from the Popish Plot. Before coming to the trials themselves, Mr. Pollock discusses at length the criminal procedure then in vogue and the rôle of the judges in political trials. The miscarriage of justice was such as might be expected under the circumstances; the bench being a branch of the Administration and chiefly concerned to defend the cause of the Crown, the witnesses being mostly perjurers, and public opinion being excited to the last degree by venomous rumors. The Popish Plot is an episode in national psychology no less than in national politics, and, though an extremely unpleasant subject, it fully deserves the attention which Mr. Pollock has devoted to it in this learned and well-ordered study.

## TRENT'S HISTORY OF AMERICAN LITERATURE.

*A History of American Literature*, 1607-1865. By William P. Trent, M.A., LL.D., Pro-

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fessor of English Literature in Columbia University. D. Appleton & Co. 1903.

Professor Trent's volume is in general so well conceived and executed that, as one of Mr. Gosse's "Short Histories of the Literatures of the World," it will not be shamed by its companion volumes, unless some of these attain to a degree of excellence far in excess of that reached heretofore. In his preface he is lavish with his modesty, saying that his book would have dwindled to an essay if he had "treated so callow a literature on the scale adopted by the writers of the volumes dealing with the mature and extensive literature of France and England." A fuller treatment than theirs has enabled him to pay more attention than their scheme would permit to the fairly important as distinguished from comparatively eminent writers produced by our democratic conditions; it has also enabled him to deal with certain pioneer authors "as though they were reputable and fairly interesting men," not as though they were unpresentable progenitors, always to be kept in the background. But Professor Trent's modesty extends to the more modern periods of our literature. We are too near to these for the historian and critic to deal justly with them, and consequently Professor Trent disclaims all pretence of having written a history of our literature from 1830 to 1865. What he has written is an impressionist appreciation. So much modesty is commendable, but we cannot but believe that he has builded better than he thinks. It is perhaps the defect of his participation in a history of universal literature that he seems to be habitually in fear that he may claim too much for any American writer. It is as if he sought to ingratiate himself by "singing small." One can easily imagine how much more doughtily Col. Higginson would stand to his American guns.

The earlier chapters take us through such immeasurable sand that a certain dryness would be only what we should expect; but actually we have less of this to complain of than of a too resolute vivacity, extracting sunshine from cucumbers of the most forbidding character. We tire a little of so much whistling when we know that it is done to keep the author's and our own courage up, and we would have him abandon himself to a dulness more in keeping with the books and authors he describes. A more serious defect than this, which leans so obviously to virtue's side, is that which becomes conspicuous only when we arrive, in the later chapters, at the chief American writers—the conscientious endeavor to determine whether this, that, and the other one was a great author. Matthew Arnold never less approved himself as a wise critic than in such mechanical measurements; and where Arnold failed, Professor Trent is hardly likely to succeed. Emerson counted five writers of the highest rank. Many of us would stop at three, and to "size up" a writer becomes increasingly difficult as we come down the line.

The first two parts of Professor Trent's book (186 pages) cover almost precisely the period of the late Prof. Moses Coit Tyler's four royal octavos. It would have been quite impossible for Professor Trent to carry his researches farther than Professor Tyler, so that from 1607 to 1788 the merit of his work is mainly that of faithful condensation. Moreover, Professor Tyler's emphasis was generally so just that to differ from him in this respect would be to go astray. Michael Wigglesworth is for Professor Trent, as for every literary critic of the New England theocracy, the typical Puritan poet, nor does he deny himself the inevitable quotation from "The Day of Doom." It is Professor Trent's disadvantage as compared with Professor Tyler, that he has much less room for quotation, which is the greater pity, because he has less skill than some others in plucking out the heart of a writer's mystery. He circles about an author like a swallow round a chimney, but without the bird's conclusiveness. "Annalists of the Seventeenth Century" is a chapter that reaches to its climax in a warm word for Bradford's Journal, and that on the New England divines of the same period in a generous tribute to Cotton Mather; his biographer, Mr. Barrett Wendell, faring equally well. "Later Colonial Verse" (1701-1764), "so dry that you might call it wet," would make the "Later Colonial Prose" of the same years shine by comparison, even if it did not have the master names of Benjamin Franklin and Jonathan Edwards to conjure with. Prof. Trent makes much of these oases, but not more than they deserve. For logical acumen he mates Edwards with John C. Calhoun, and might have found them complementing each other, one as the apostle of "man's inhumanity to man," the other as the apostle of God's similar disposition. Here again we have the inevitable quotation, Edwards's description of young Sarah Pierrepont, which certainly does read like a stray leaf from Dante's 'Vita Nuova'; but the longer passage, which he quotes to show that Edwards had in him the makings of a great prose writer, does not at all bear him out in that particular.

Coming to the "Revolutionary Period" (1765-1768), John Dickinson's 'Letters' are evaluated as the work of "the most important writer on political topics," but as less effective in hastening independence than the work of Samuel Adams. Is there not, however, a provincial note in the hint of Adams's "coarseness" as "a fact which partly accounts for his comparative failure to impress himself upon the popular imagination"? Still, so long as we are not invited to consider the whole course of Adams's revolutionary career as a profound mistake, we have little reason to complain. And so far is Professor Trent from this construction that he is even more generous than Professor Tyler in his appreciation of Thomas Paine. "He had grave faults, but one is almost tempted to say that the man who at this late day emphasizes them has greater"—a possible reminiscence of Henley's saying that he would rather have had Burns's faults than have written about them in the manner of Stevenson. A habit of infelicitous comparison has for one example the comparison of Paine's inferiority to Burke to Kingsley's inferiority to Newman. But where generally praise of Paine's political service to America has been offset by condemnation of his religious heresies, Professor Trent has the courage to say that much of Paine's Biblical criticism has not been prevented by Orthodox assaults upon 'The Age of Reason' "from seeming fairly conservative to-day, at least in point of substance."

Among the "Poets and Miscellaneous Writers of the Revolutionary Period" Freneau easily forges to the head; but a neglected point of view is taken where, over against Scott and Campbell's borrowing each a line from Freneau, we are reminded that his own borrowings were more royal. Of Timothy Dwight's multifarious writings Professor Trent would save one hymn and the 'Travels,' so much less than they might have been if Dwight could have subordinated to reality his predilection for "elegant English." Joel Barlow is considered with more than ordinary sympathy, both for his affecting story and for certain real merits, more conspicuous in his "Hasty Pudding" than in his "Columbiad." The word "notorious" has become so "soiled by all ignoble use" as to make it doubtful whether Professor Trent should have written of Barlow's friend and monodist as "the notorious Helen Maria Williams." John Woolman is described in terms that will satisfy all but the fanatical admirers of that noble journalist.

As the literary product becomes more various, Professor Trent's difficulties in achieving a satisfactory classification increase upon his hands, but his success commends his ingenuity. For the "Formative Period" (1789-1829) he is no longer reminiscent of Professor Tyler as in the two preceding parts, but is not less informing than when following the Tyler trail. From "Transitional Writers" he passes to "Writers of Fiction," under which head Irving and Cooper are treated with generous elaboration. Irving, "the first successful American man of letters," is eagerly defended from the assault of hypercritical depreciation, and the treatment of Cooper cannot be better praised than by a recognition of its substantial agreement with Professor Lounsbury's capital biography. The acceleration of interest promised by this chapter is hardly maintained by the next following, wherein the point of departure is Kettell's 'Specimens of American Poetry,' in three volumes, published in 1829, the term *ad quem* of the verse-writers of the period under consideration. Among Kettell's one hundred and twenty-five poets Professor Trent discovers only one of real importance; for, though the collection had some of Longfellow's and Whittier's early verse, there was little of the former's and nothing of the latter's to herald their long since established fame. We are once more reminded that the introductory and concluding parts of "Thanatopsis," as it now stands, were additions of much later date than the body of the poem; but the idea that they bettered it, is one from which the more judicious will appeal. The account of "Unitarianism and Transcendentalism" has as much prominence as in Mr. Wendell's 'Literary History,' but the manner of it has no taint of Mr. Wendell's patronizing airs. Emerson is highly exalted, not without qualification, while the praise of Thoreau as a writer, rather than as an observer or thinker, marks a tendency widely apparent, and Professor Trent's cordial abandonment of himself thereto. "The Romancers" (1830-1850) are preëminently Hawthorne and Poe. Hawthorne is invited to the highest seat, but with some demur at the narrowness of his vision, and with such admiration for his moral nature and winning personality as Emerson's personal contact did not excite and many of us cannot feel. There is no

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attempt to rehabilitate Poe's character—a hopeless task—but if his special cult is not satisfied with the estimate of his prose and verse it is only because to set him above Shakspere would not be enough. Much of Longfellow's significance ("The Poets," 1830-1850) is found in his revealing the Old World to the New. A more careful reading of Pickard's Life of Whittier would have reshaped some of the sentences about Whittier's "shrewd campaigning" in a harsher mould. It is a right judgment that "some of his best work" deals with "such an unpleasant topic as slavery"; and if we are not prepared to say that "Ichabod" is the only great one of his personal poems, we may without hesitation recognize it as the greatest of its class. The minimizing view of Holmes's poetry would have sorely afflicted that genial egotist, could he have anticipated it, but he would have been comforted by being crowned as "the typical representative of Unitarian Boston and the heretical descendant of Calvinist saints." Hardly less minimizing is the view of Lowell as prose-writer, critic, and poet, with the grand exception of the first 'Biglow Papers' as the obvious culmination of American satiric and humorous poetry. We read of our longing for a new Lowell to satirize our new follies, but the old Lowell answers tolerably well, so closely are the new follies patterned on the old.

A chapter, "Poets and Novelists" (1850-1865), has 'Uncle Tom's Cabin' for its top and crown, and Professor Trent's unhappy predilection for the literary parallel betrays him into bracketing Mrs. Stowe's novel with Aphra Behn's 'Oroonoko.' The humorists from 1830 to 1865 have a chapter to themselves which is convincing that humorists in the lump are miserably indigestible. The concluding chapter celebrates a line of "Historians, Critics, Publicists." George William Curtis would not regret to find his service as Independent and civil-service reformer set above his work as orator and essayist, but the admirers of Webster will certainly object to having his Reply to Hayne refused the honors of great literature. Is it so sure that an ice-cold historical criticism is a better test of literary quality than the heat of contemporary passion? In reserving Abraham Lincoln for the climax of his work, Professor Trent, not forgetting the Gettysburg address and the inaugurals, seems to have intimation that the measure of literary greatness is not so much excellence of form as height of soul.

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*Portraitures of Julius Cæsar.* By Frank J. Scott. Longmans, Green & Co. 1903.

The collection of portraits of Julius Cæsar published in 1887 by the late John Ropes of Boston was richer in illustrations than any that had before been made, and his study of them must still be read by all who are interested in the personal appearance of the great Roman. But numerically it is now superseded by the work of Mr. Frank J. Scott, an architect of Toledo, who has been more successful than was even Bernouilli in getting together material.

The latter's list, in his well-known 'Ikonographie,' included sixty statues and busts, and was illustrated by eleven plates or cuts. In Mr. Scott's list there are added twelve ancient and fourteen Renaissance or later works, and he gives us twenty-nine full-page plates and forty-five cuts in the text, all illustrations of portraits of Cæsar, together with ten more plates and cuts of kindred subjects. During four years of travel in Europe the author visited all the great museums and many private galleries, studying, comparing, making sketches, or causing photographs or casts to be made of all the materials, ancient, mediæval, or Renaissance, which might throw light on the features and head of Julius Cæsar. His studio, with its collection of this material, must be a fascinating place, to judge by one of his plates which represents a shelf supporting sixteen plaster casts of the most important busts.

Aware that, excluding coins, we have not a single portrait which was certainly executed or certainly not executed in Cæsar's life-time; confused at first by the curious variations in those which professed to represent him; with intenser study, ideals of the man's real presence began to shape themselves out of the aggregate of the marbles preserved, until finally Mr. Scott was able to fix, with other iconographists, upon certain ancient busts and statues as having been executed probably in Cæsar's time, and upon others as probable studies of ancient works no longer in existence. Not that he blindly follows any iconographist, even the greatest. For instance, he differs from them in distrusting Cæsar's effigies on coins as fundamental for knowledge of his features. Rightly; for the coins, wretched as works of art, and all of them struck towards the end of Cæsar's life, can give us nothing but one or two salient characteristics of the man at that period, to be read into the more general conception of him which is to be got from busts and statues. Again, Mr. Scott differs from the many who hold that the colossal head in Naples is the most valuable single portrait of Cæsar now known. This palm he would award to the Vatican head in the Chiaramonti Museum, No. 107, considering it the finest representation of Cæsar the thinker, jurist, statesman, and gentleman, although it fails to give evidence of his military dash, his audacity, and his energy. These latter traits Mr. Scott thinks are best expressed in a bronze statuette hitherto unpublished and undescribed, which he had the good fortune to find in Madrid. Of the striking bust of an old man with his toga drawn over his head, which used to be called "Cæsar as Pontifex Maximus," and which he justly considers altogether too old for the real Cæsar, he has the interesting theory that the original was merely an idealization in clay, never intended by the sculptor for literal duplication in marble, but copied literally in later times as a speculation.

In connection with this and with several inferior busts resembling it, Mr. Scott ventures the theory that there was a death-mask of Cæsar which served as their prototype. This thought was suggested to him by the discovery in Turin of another unpublished head which, unfinished at the back, certainly seems to be the copy of a mask; but whether of Cæsar or of another is a difficult question to determine. That a death-mask was made, Mr. Scott need not have doubted had he recalled the Roman *imagines* and known of Appian's description of the funeral of Cæsar with the puppet which figured there. This reminds us to say that it would perhaps have been better if Mr. Scott had omitted much of his chapter entitled "A Brief of Cæsar's Life." The word brief is well chosen; the chapter is a piece of special pleading on his favorite's behalf, for, to Mr. Scott, Cæsar must be like Cæsar's wife—above suspicion. And in his protest against the Shaksperian representation of Cæsar's funeral, where Mr. Scott argues that the actual spectators in the Forum that day must have behaved with the stern taciturnity of Americans when they received the news of the assassination of Lincoln, he entirely overlooks the difference between Italians and Anglo-Saxons, and has apparently never read the account of Appian to which we have referred. It was necessary, of course, that he should tell us *of his conception of Cæsar's character*; but he might have done this in a few words, and devoted the space thus saved to translations of those descriptions of the man's personality which have come down to us from antiquity. Here, by the way, he would have found it a difficult job to produce many descriptions by writers of Cæsar's own day, although he several times alludes to such as existing. Still, later descriptions, modelled upon earlier, no doubt, would have been welcome.

But the book is a good book, and will be full of interest to sculptors and to the general reader. The point of view is confessedly not that of the classical scholar, yet the work will be (and perhaps for that very reason) useful to scholars in spite of some slips like "Sueton" and "Plineus," and some curious usages of English, such as "histrionic" (for historical) and "portraited." That the heroic statue in the court of the Conservatori came from Cæsar's forum is a somewhat doubtful tradition, not a "belief," and the statue was executed towards the end of the first century or at the beginning of the second rather than "near to Cæsar's life-time." Finally, we may note that it is curious that one so familiar as Mr. Scott must be with the Vatican collections should not remember that the "Roman in a toga, sacrificing," a cast of which he saw in the Crystal Palace and proceeded to enter in his list as a possible Cæsar, is a prominent object in the famous Sala della Biga, where he must have seen it many times, though naturally then never thinking of adding it to his collection.

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*Rossetti Papers*, 1862 to 1870: A Compilation by William Michael Rossetti. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1903.

This last instalment of Mr. William M. Rossetti's family papers, containing as it does many letters of the most celebrated people in art and literature of the time, cannot fail to have a general interest, much as it will be regretted that its compiler has not limited himself to giving only what would have furthered the chief object he had in view—*i. e.*, to throw more light on the career of his brother, Dante Gabriel Rossetti. Although many books have been published about D. G. Rossetti, it is generally acknowledged, by all who knew him, that as yet there is none that gives any adequate idea of his genial personality or of the influence he exercised over the men who

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came under the spell of his genius. To the future biographer of Rossetti, the letters here included will be of value, showing in many instances his appreciation of the humorous, the kindliness of his nature in attempting to secure purchasers for his friends' pictures, and his rare generosity in acknowledging the qualities he liked in the work of others. Several letters from Ruskin to D. G. and to W. M. Rossetti throw some light on the interruption of friendly relations between the artist and his former patron and critic.

Among the noteworthy correspondents whose letters are given are Carlyle, Robert Browning, Walt Whitman, Professor Norton, "Baron" Kirkup, W. J. Stillman, James Smetham, W. Allingham, Madox Brown, W. B. Scott, etc. Then we have several disputatious letters on business matters relating to the non-execution of commissions or the delay in their execution, about which it is impossible for the reader to judge, as the answers to the artist are withheld. Many notes to Madox Brown, the friend with whom D. G. Rossetti was constantly in touch, are too scrappy to deserve reprinting; but Mr. William Rossetti's method of reproducing everything he can lay hands on is too well known from former volumes to call for comment here, nor would his readers expect of him any concession to the virtue of discretion. It is, therefore, rather astonishing to find in his preface that he has clipped at all. "The passages omitted are very generally such as would be of little or no interest to the reader, although occasionally it happens that something which might be of interest is excluded on other grounds."

On the score of good taste we should think he might have withheld the nonsense verses, among other trivialities, as unfit for publication. Amusing as they may have been as impromptus, they are too personal and ephemeral in their fun to be intelligible to outsiders.

The interpolation of W. M. Rossetti's diary, which runs through the book, might well have been spared also, occupying as it does so much of the text with fragmentary jottings as to his own vacation journeys, dinings out, visits, opinions on pictures seen, accounts of spiritual séances at which nothing happens that is noteworthy—entries, in fact, which only serve to recall a date, and which could be of no permanent use to any one but himself. The references to Christina Rossetti are few, and consist chiefly of letters from her, referring to the publication of her poems, or her brothers' criticisms and suggestions about them, the change of a word, etc.—matters with which the public has no concern.

With all respect to the present craving for the human document, in giving the papers left by people of note to the public some discrimination should be used, as much in its own interest as in theirs, as to what is significant and characteristic, and what is utterly unimportant.

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*Sacred Sites of the Gospels.* By W. Sanday. Oxford: Clarendon Press; New York: H. Frowde.

Dr. Sanday's 'Sacred Sites' consists of fifty-five process reproductions of photographs, seven maps and plans, and 126 pages of letterpress. The photographs are not original, the maps are for convenience, the plans—apart from one of Jerusalem, also for convenience—are an elaborate reconstruction of the Temple of Herod by Mr. Paul Waterhouse, the architect, in collaboration with Dr. Sanday, and the letterpress is in an easy lecturing style, marked by Dr. Sanday's common sense and insight, but not entering deeply into any of the problems involved. The origin of the book, in fact, lies in three lectures delivered by the author after a visit of a few weeks to Palestine. These are given as delivered, with a fourth chapter added on the recent literature of the subject.

As Dr. Sanday himself recognizes, the *raison d'être* of this contribution is to be sought in his training as a textual critic. Here the old antagonism of the archæologist and the philologist appears again, but in a mild form, and with prospect of fruitful results. Thus, the student of text-recensions feels compelled to read Gerasenes in Luke and Mark, while the topographer feels equally compelled towards Gergesenes. Again, it stirs, and not unnaturally, the textualist's laughter when the topographer, dealing with the pool of Bethesda, says naïvely that he does not intend to follow the best MSS. because he thinks that the inferior ones suit the local indications better. Finally, the writer of 'Macmillan's Guide'—happy neither in texts nor in localities—is the especial *bête noire* to Dr. Sanday's steady scholarliness. The Oxford professor evidently took a pleasure in rapping, always in calmly moderated language, the knuckles of that very cock-sure and overflowing compiler. And at all these points it is belief in texts and solicitude for their integrity that are the valid moments.

In Jerusalem itself Dr. Sanday upholds the traditional sites of Golgotha, the Holy Sepulchre, and the Upper Room of Luke's Gospel and Acts. Of course, he does not think that these sites can be exactly fixed, only that they must have lain more or less in their present localities. As for the tomb, for example, he says very pointedly that

"there is an appreciable probability that it would be remembered and handed down, even though it was buried [by the platform of the Temple of Venus]. When I say 'remembered,' I mean remembered in the general sense that the successive generations of Christians would know roughly and approximately within what area the Lord's body had lain. We can understand that if that were so, when the Temple of Venus was taken down, and the earth that formed its platform removed, if the workmen came upon a tomb that at all answered to the description in the Gospel, the discovery would seem very convincing. And if, in an old disused rock-hewn reservoir near, there were found beams such as might conceivably have been crosses, that would seem to be striking confirmation. Under the circumstances, we must not expect that the examination would be very closely critical. But I think we may say with some confidence that the enthusiasm that was evidently felt and shown on the occasion was not without tangible grounds" (p. 77).

But the site in Jerusalem as to which he feels most confidence, still in this broad way, is that of the Upper Room. The evidence for the traditional Cenaculum is marshalled with great force and with a keen appreciation for the precise value of tradition—where it is valid, and where it fails. This part of his book is worthy of careful study; in it the effects of Dr. Sanday's training are very visible.

The same method is applied to the problem of the sites of Capernaum, but there it fails. Towards Khan Minyeh he inclines, but in the last instance—in the preface—has to confess uncertainty. The evidence is really insufficient, and it may be doubted whether it will ever be possible precisely to assign a great city like Capernaum to one or other of two sites so close, each to each, as are Khan Minyeh and Tell Hum.

As a whole this book, it must be confessed, is disappointing. Yet there are fresh and pointed sections in it, and even simple opinions and *obiter dicta* from a scholar of Dr. Sanday's rank and type are to be welcomed.

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*Another View of Industrialism.* By William Mitchell Bowack. E. P. Dutton & Co. 1903.

To the question with which this author begins his book—Is there room for another work on Economics?—we were, after a cursory glance, disposed to give a negative answer. More thorough examination convinces us that this would have been a mistake. As Mr. Bowack says, the very number of books relating to industry suggests "an atmosphere of dissatisfaction which exists unsatisfied by all the formal treatises." Moreover, the standard writings are not of a kind to satisfy this dissatisfied atmosphere. "Their science is lifeless, soulless. It does not pulsate with that glowing purpose, that intensity of energy, that pervades economic man. The motivization of industry is not adequately realized." Beyond question, a truly soulful book, pulsating with glowing purpose, will meet a want long felt by readers of economic works in which "truths are presented in disproportion," and "trivialities and subtleties" abound.

Moreover, the author employs a new and original dialectic. "Adam Smith, Ricardo, Malthus, John Stuart Mill, were ever marshalling their arguments against the dangerous fallacies and hostile interests of their age. These giants have all been slain. The time is now such that the simple presentation of the truth carries conviction. Nothing is more noticeable in the public mind of the time than this." We must confess that this view of the public mind had not impressed us. It is obvious that the marshalling of arguments addressed to this mind has ceased to be common, but we attributed this to the public's dislike of intellectual exertion. It is pleasant to learn that logic can be thrown to the dogs, and that we may now, with Mr. Bowack, "rely upon the effect of the simple presentation of the truth without argument for the public sanction of our opinions."

The enormous convenience of this *novum organum* is abundantly illustrated in these pages. Thus, the author observes, "We require all the unpopulated places of the earth filled up with teeming millions." Nothing could be easier. It is only necessary to say that the rate at which population has increased will be quadrupled in this century. Thus the earth will, a hundred years from now, have eight thousand millions of inhabitants instead of sixteen hundred. And this is as it should be, for man is in various ways superior to other animals. Not the least of his advantages is

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that, "instead of requiring four pedal supports, two suffice, and the other two are used for holding and making things."

The problem of maintaining this great population seems formidable; but Mr. Bowack is prepared to grapple with it. He has been unable to find "a satisfactory table or formula of dietary scientifically made, yet of practical value. The tables drawn upon chemical and physiological lines are valueless, because they say certain foods are of no nutritive value, while we know the great mass of humanity have lived and thriven upon them from the beginning of time." What laboring men require is "a form of common food that might be regarded as the recognized basis of subsistence. It should be a form of food prepared, containing all the elements necessary to perfect nutrition in perfect proportions, palatable and attractive. It must be cheap, lasting, and convenient. . . . This common food we would put up in regular packages of certified weight, and place all over the kingdom at a recognized price." The nearest approach to this standard ration known to Mr. Bowack is the German military sausage; but he cannot have read the advertisements of the American breakfast foods. Had he done so he would undoubtedly have recognized the cause of the economic efficiency of this country.

The number of truths here presented to the public mind is too great for us to consider. We should be glad, did space permit, to comment on the "three timeous relations," and the proposition that "an article or operation is never complete until it is completed"; which the author admits to sound rather self-evident, but justifies on the ground that "it is always the self-evident that is never perceived, or at least acted upon." One of the most fascinating suggestions is that for reducing to order "the manifold, and indeed the heterosity of the material and mechanical side of industry." To the captious objection that the proposed classification would be purposeless and useless, the author replies severely that we cannot tell until it is done whether it will be useful or not.

We must cease to quote; but we have made it plain that Mr. Bowack has written a book that is adapted to the requirements of a large class of readers. There are some irregularities of style, but the complacency of the author is inspiring; and even the solemn way in which he says an undisputed thing is not without its charm.

## BOOKS OF THE WEEK.

Addison, Julia de W. Florestane the Troubadour. Boston: Dana Estes & Co. $1.
Ade, George. In Babel. McClure, Phillips & Co.
Barry, John D. The Congressman's Wife. The Smart Set Publishing Co. $1.50.
Benson, E. F., and Miles, Eustace H. The Cricket of Abel, Hirst, and Shrewsbury. E. P. Dutton & Co. $1.50 net.
Bisland, Elizabeth. A Candle of Understanding. Harpers. $1.50.
Bloom, J. H. Shakespeare's Garden. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Co. $1 net.
Braid, J., and Others. A Book of Golf. E. P. Dutton & Co. $1.50 net.
Brown, Alice. Judgment. Harpers. $1.25.
Burnham, Clara L. Jewel. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. $1.50.
Caryl, Guy W. Zut and Other Parisians. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. $1.50.
Cellini, Benvenuto. Autobiography. (The Temple Autobiographies.) Two vols. Translated by Anne Macdonnel. London: J. M. Dent & Co.; New York: E. P. Dutton & Co. $2.50 net a set.
Clark, T. M. The Care of a House. The Macmillan Co. $1.50.
Cooke, Marjorie B. Modern Monologues. The Dramatic Publishing Co.
Dickens, Charles. Christmas Books and Hard Times. (The Biographical Edition.) Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Co.; London: Chapman & Hall.
Dinsmore, Charles A. Aids to the Study of Dante. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. $1.50 net.
Don Juan. 17th and 18th Cantos. London: Arliss Andrews. 1s.
Doyle, A. C. The Adventures of Gerard. McClure, Phillips & Co. $1.50.
Edgcumbe, Kenelm. Whittaker's Electrical Engineer's Pocket Book. London: Whittaker & Co.; New York: The Macmillan Co. $1.
Emmet, Thomas A. Ireland under English Rule. Two vols. Putnams. $5 net.
Fleming, William H. How to Study Shakespeare. Series III. Doubleday, Page & Co.
Foster, G. C., and Porter, Alfred W. Elementary Treatise on Electricity and Magnetism. Longmans, Green & Co. $3.50.
Gladden, Washington. Witnesses of the Light. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. $1.25 net.
Gonzenbach, Ernest. Engineering Preliminaries for an Interurban Electric Railway. McGraw Publishing Co. $1.
Green, Samuel B. Principles of American Forestry. London: Chapman & Hall; New York: John Wiley.
Henderson, Bernard W. The Life and Principiate of the Emperor Nero. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Co.; London: Methuen & Co. $3 net.
Higgins, C. A., and Keeler, Charles. To California and Back. Doubleday, Page & Co.
Howells, W. D. Letters Home. Harpers. $1.50.
Hubbard, Elbert. Little Journeys to the Homes of English Authors. Putnams.
Hubbard, Elbert. Little Journeys to the Homes of Famous Musicians. Putnams.
Hulbert, Archer B. Portage Paths. (Historic Highways of America, Vol. VII.) Cleveland, O.: The Arthur H. Clark Co. $2.50 net.
Hyne, C. J. C. McTodd. The Macmillan Co. $1.50.
Iles, George. Little Masterpieces of Science. The Skies and the Earth—The Naturalist—Explorers—Health and Healing—The Mind—Invention and Discovery. New edition. Doubleday, Page & Co.
Jackson, Gabrielle E. Big Jack. J. F. Taylor & Co. 75c. net.
Johnson, Clifton. The Land of Heather. The Macmillan Co.
Keen, James T. A Manual for Notaries Public. Justices of the Peace, and their Employers. New ed. Boston: Little, Brown & Co. $2 net.
Kingsley, Charles. Two Years Ago. Two vols. (Library Edition.) J. F. Taylor & Co. $2 net per volume.
Kirk, Ellen O. Good Bye, Proud World. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. $1.50.
Lamb, Charles and Mary, The Works of. Edited by E. V. Lucas. Vol. I. Miscellaneous Prose.—Vol. V. Poems and Plays. Putnams. $2.25 net per vol.
Letters from a Chinese Official. McClure, Phillips & Co.
Lincoln, Charles H. A Calendar of John Paul Jones Manuscripts. Washington: Government Printing Office.
Lockwood, John A. Cadet's Handbook. Kansas City, Mo.: Hudson-Kimberly Publishing Co.
Loti, Pierre. Madame Chrysanthème. London: George Routledge & Sons; New York: E. P. Dutton & Co. $1.25.
Ludlow, Fitzhugh. The Hasheesh Eater S. G. Rains Co. $1.50.
Lynch, Frederick. The Enlargement of Life. Putnams. $1.00 net.
Macmanus, Seumas. The Red Poocher. Funk & Wagnalls Co. 75c.
Macmillan, Hugh. The Life of George Frederick Watts. London: J. M. Dent & Co.; New York: E. P. Dutton & Co. $1.50 net.
Macterlinck, Maurice. Monna Vanna. Harpers.
Mandrot, B. de. Mémoires de Philippe de Commynes. 2 vols. Paris: Alphonse Picard et Fils.
Matthews, Brander. The Development of the Drama. Scribners.
Menpes, Mortimer and Dorothy. World's Children. London: Adam & Charles Black; New York: The Macmillan Co. $6.
Merwin, Samuel. His Little World. A. S. Barnes & Co. $1.25.
Miller, John. New York Considered and Improved, 1695. With introduction and notes by Victor Hugo Paltsits. Cleveland, O.: The Burrows Brothers Co.
Milne, William J. Primary Arithmetic. American Book Co.
Minckvitz, Richard A. von. Marcus Tullius Cicero. Ten Orations. (Macmillan's Latin Series.) The Macmillan Co. $1.25.
Moody, Helen W. A Child's Letters to her Husband. Doubleday, Page & Co.
Moon, George W. The Bishop's English. London: Swan Sonnenschein & Co.; New York: E. P. Dutton & Co. $1.25 net.
Morgan, Henry J. Types of Canadian Women. Toronto: William Briggs.
Morton, Bowditch. Handbook of First Aid to the Injured. Society for Instruction in First Aid to the Injured.
Nesbit, E. The Literary Sense. The Macmillan Co. $1.50.
Norris, Frank. The Responsibilities of the Novelist. Doubleday, Page & Co.
Peattie, Elia W. The Edge of Things. Fleming H. Revell Co. $1.25.
Pettengill, Lillian. Toilers of the Home. Doubleday, Page & Co. $1.50 net.
Pierson, Clara D. Dooryard Stories. E. P. Dutton & Co. $1.20 net.
Potter, Margaret H. The Castle of Twilight. Chicago: A. C. McClurg & Co. $1.50.
Rankin, Jeremiah E. Esther Burr's Journal. 3d ed. Washington: Woodward & Lothrop. $1 net.
Rhodes, Daniel P. A Pleasure Book of Grindelwald. The Macmillan Co. $1.50.
Ritchie, George T. A List of Lincolniana in the Library of Congress. Washington: Government Printing Office.
Roosevelt, Theodore. California Addresses. San Francisco: The California Promotion Committee.
Sandys, Edwin. Trapper "Jim." The Macmillan Co.
Scudder, Horace E. The Children's Book. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co.
Seawell, Molly E. The Fortunes of Fifi. Indianapolis: The Bobbs-Merrill Co.
Sedgwick, Henry D., jr. Essays on Great Writers. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. $1.50 net.
Shea, John G. Discovery and Exploration of the Mississippi Valley. New ed. Albany: Joseph McDonough. $5.00 net.
Sims, George R. The Dagonet, and Other Poems. London: George Routledge & Sons; New York: E. P. Dutton & Co.
Smith, Gertrude. The Stories of Peter and Ellen. Harpers. $1.30.
Smith, Laura C. The Life of Philander Chase. E. P. Dutton & Co. $3.00 net.
Somerville, E. Œ., and Ross, Martin. An Irish Cousin. Longmans, Green & Co. $1.50.
Spears, John R., and Clark, A. H. A History of the Mississippi Valley. A. S. Clark. $5.00 net.
Stoddard, Charles A. Cruising Among the Caribbees. Scribners. $1.50.
Taylor, I. A. Sir Walter Raleigh. E. P. Dutton & Co. $1 net.
Terry, Charles S. The Young Pretender. E. P. Dutton & Co. $1 net.
Torrey, Bradford. The Clerk of the Woods. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. $1.10 net.
Trowbridge, John T. My Own Story. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. $2.50 net.
Wafer, Lionel. A New Voyage and Description of the Isthmus of America. Edited by George P. Winship. Cleveland, O.: The Burrows Brothers Co.
Walsh, Walter. The Jesuits in Great Britain. London: George Routledge & Sons; New York: E. P. Dutton. $3 net.
Winston, Annie S. Memoirs of a Child. Longmans, Green & Co. $1 net.

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